THE LUTHERAN CHURCH QUARTERLY

OCTOBER, 1930

"THE FIRST MODERN MAN"

JULIUS F. SEEBACH
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

AFRICA'S sun beat fiercely upon the modest episcopal residence of Hippo Regius on August 28, 430 A. D. Within, Aurelius Augustine, Hippo's great bishop, lay dying after a brief illness. Around his bed hung large placards, on which had been inscribed, at his command, the seven penitential psalms, to keep him, as he told his adoring clergy, in humble remembrance of his need of forgiveness.

The end came amid the battle-cries of the ruthless Vandals who were besieging the city. No gleam of happiness remained to console him. As he had witnessed during the past few months the destruction of his diocese, the fruitful field of his devoted ministry, he had encouraged himself and others by quoting, "A man could hardly be great who felt surprise that timbers and stones fall, or that mortals die." Yet, in his inmost heart he was convinced that the world was dying and he was dying with it.

Nevertheless, the judgment of history has been quite otherwise. It was not the end, but a beginning. Time was in travail, bringing forth a new era, in which the life and thought of Augustine were to be the most persistent and pervading force.

The reason for this is to be found, first of all in the historical setting of his life—in time and place. Warfield says, "He stood on the watershed of two worlds. The old was passing away; the

new was entering on its heritage; and it fell to him to mediate the transference of the culture of the one to the other." Harnack even suggests that the decadent Roman Empire might almost seem to have been continued in order that Augustine might exert his influence on universal history.

The place, with its conditions, was also favorable. While thought was strangling in the mephitic airs of Byzantine intrigues, and languishing in Italy, devastated by repeated invasions, Africa was the theatre of intense intellectual activity. Here Augustine grew up, absorbing all that was best of the old culture; and again, in the later years of his extraordinary service, from here he sent it forth recharged with the power of his own peculiar genius and character.

As similar problems have arisen in succeeding centuries, men have not been able to escape a serious consideration of Augustine's conclusions. Perhaps the prime reason for this is because, as Harnack says, Augustine was "the first of the Fathers who felt the need of forcing his faith to reason." Nor have they wanted to, for a deeper reason, for, as Bougaud discriminatingly indicates, "Never did man unite in one and the same soul such stern rigor of logic with such tenderness of heart." And again, other ages have followed him farther than they intended at times, because, as Eucken declares, "Never could Augustine have exercised all the influence he has exercised if it had not been that, in spite of the rhetorical artifice of his utterance, absolute sincerity reigned in the inmost recesses of his soul." It is not difficult, therefore, to understand why Harnack calls him "the first modern man."

The intensely human quality of Augustine makes it necessary, for the understanding of his career, to examine briefly the significant features of his personal development. For him, more than for most men, the expanding experiences of his years were directly and intimately built into his thought and action.

Aurelius Augustine was born in Tagaste, a small town of Numidia in Africa, on November 13, 354 A. D. His mother, Monica, was a devout Christian; his father, Patricius, was a man of ungovernable disposition, with a slight regard for religion or

morality. The struggles of these conflicting influences are clearly manifest in Augustine's life, and are inimitably related by him in his *Confessions*. It is easy to understand how the paternal blood and example predisposed him to the ready temptations which arose from the social conditions which afflicted Africa at that period.

In one way, unfortunately, Augustine did not fully respond to the influence of his father who cherished vaulting ambitions for his brilliant son, and for whom he endured severe sacrifices in order to provide for him the best possible education. The boy was moody, temperamental, and intellectually indolent. Especially he hated mathematics and Greek, and, even in spite of repeated reproach and punishment, refused to master their difficulties. For this reason his fluent genius never received the discipline of exactness and concentration which these subjects were fitted to provide. As a result Augustine was never able in his later years fully to appreciate the thought of the Greek-speaking leaders in the church. There can be little doubt, therefore, that this contributed, because of Augustine's supreme influence in the succeeding centuries, to the widening rift between East and West.

This sorry defect in Augustine's scholarship appears in a concrete example, the influence of which persists to this day. Jerome, the outstanding scholar of his day, had been commanded by Pope Damasus to undertake a highly necessary revision of the many imperfect Latin versions then in use. In the course of his labors Jerome issued new translations of separate books. An occasion arose in which Jerome's translation of Jonah caused a furor in an African congregation when its bishop, in reading the incident of the gourd, declared, "And the Lord God prepared *ivy*." The outraged people frightened the bishop, who promised to consult the Jews on the subject, and later apologized to hold his congregation. Augustine wrote to protest, pleading for the use of the time-honored word. A correspondence followed which was saved from bitter controversy by the fine restraint exercised by Augustine toward the irascible scholar. Jerome, however, persuaded Augustine of his untenable position regarding a fresh translation from the Hebrew, and pointed out the necessity and importance of understanding the actual meaning of the Scriptures. At least,

Augustine used Jerome's translation in preparing a commentary on Job.

Yet when, at the conclusion of his great work, Jerome stated bluntly that the apocryphal books had no equal standing with the rest of the Scriptures, saying, "They are not in the Canon," it was the compelling authority of Augustine which led the Council of Carthage to demand the retaining of the Apocrypha. Augustine's influence also induced a Roman pope to accept this decision a few years later, and so the Vulgate has contained the Apocrypha ever since, together with various restorations of the older time-honored phrasings, due to the same influence.

The poverty of Augustine's parents led to a situation in his life during his sixteenth year which was destined to influence unhappily the rest of his life, and to cast a sombre shadow on his teachings. They withdrew him from the academy at Madaura at that time in order to accumulate funds to send him to the university at Carthage, where he would receive the best training Africa could furnish. In the idle time which ensued Augustine's hot African blood carried him into many vicious practices. His father, Patricius, offered no objection to this manner of living so long as it did not interfere with his ambitions for the intellectual advancement of his son. His mother's prayers and pleadings Augustine ignored. The result was that at seventeen Augustine formed an illicit union with a woman who bore him a son, Adeodatus.

This manner of life continued for several years without any apparent regret on Augustine's part. But at length a reaction set in. While still continuing the relationship of concubinage, Augustine resumed the habit of prayer, and sought earnestly for an approach to God. Reading the *Hortensius* of Cicero is credited with having changed the current of his feelings by stimulating the desire for a nobler life.

However, this loftier influence was largely destroyed, after a brief period, by Augustine's entanglement in the heresy of the Manichaeans. This heresy, which claimed to offer a higher order of Christianity to the elect, was well fitted to appeal to the turgid, proud, yet uneasy, mind of Augustine. The influence of *Horten-*

sius had induced him to return to his childhood's discipline. He re-examined the Scriptures "to see what they were like," but their simplicity and rhetorical severity offended him, and he threw them aside.

The Manichaeans, on the other hand, attracted him by their constant appeal to "the Truth! the Truth!" which seemed to Augustine an inspired answer to the eloquent pleading of *Hortensius*. "The Church," they said, "imposes truth upon you instead of teaching it, and the truth which it offers is composed to a great extent of anile fables which cannot be supported by reason. The Church demands faith before reason, and terrifies you into submission by superstitious threats. We, on the other hand, only invite you to accept truths which we have first explained, and which you can perfectly understand."

This subtly flattering appeal to the intellectual pride of Augustine was agreeable and successful. But the insidious conclusions to be drawn from the Manichaean doctrine of dualism were even more effective, for they excused the sins which tormented Augustine's conscience. According to their adaptation of the Zoroastrian doctrine of the eternal warfare between good and evil, the whole material universe was the product of the spirit of evil. Nature was the work of an evil being; man's body and even half of his soul were therefore evil. The acts of man, in whatever way they were connected with his body, were likewise evil, but he was not to be held responsible for them, according to this philosophy of fate.

For nine years Augustine continued under the influence of Manichaeism. His original satisfaction with its teachings, however, gradually disappeared. The inconsistencies and contradictions of the cult grew ever more formidable, and he never ventured to pass beyond the first grade of membership among them. As ambition and disappointment carried him in his professional career as a teacher of rhetoric from place to place, he gradually loosed the bonds which held him to Manichaeism. His call to a professorship in Milan, 385 A. D., brought him at length under the powerful influence of that city's great bishop, Ambrose. Here, under the instruction of Ambrose, the last thread which tied him to the Manichaeans was severed, the last hesitation to cut loose from his

sinful life was destroyed. Augustine was baptized by Ambrose on Easter Eve, 387 A. D. The years of unconscious preparation for his great work were completed. Augustine's one great object was to give all the rest of his life wholly to God. Instinctively he turned back to Africa. On the road his mother, who had been living with him in Milan, died at Ostia, and this delayed his return for a year.

Returning to Tagaste, Augustine sold his patrimony and gave the proceeds to the poor. Then renting his old home, and gathering his friends to live with him under a severe, self-imposed monastic rule, he spent three peaceful, busy years in writing. Both his writings and his holy life spread his fame far. It was inevitable that he would not be allowed to continue in seclusion. Consequently, according to the custom of the time, he was forced to submit to ordination as a presbyter by the vote of the congregation on the occasion of a visit to Hippo Regius in 390 A. D. Five years later he was induced by his bishop, Valerius, to become bishop coadjutor, and shortly after ascended the episcopal throne, from which he was destined to influence for good and ill the fortunes of the Christian church.

It would be impossible to describe, with even meagre detail, the varied incessant labors of Augustine in his episcopal office. His literary labors in defense of the church continued unabated. Beside the many letters which he sent with earnest words of advice, encouragement, or rebuke, to individuals, congregations, and even bishops, he sought to win or conquer by more formal writings the remnants of lingering schisms and heresies. He also offered his contributions to similar problems which concerned more particularly the church in the East.

Augustine was unwearied in his efforts to win the large pagan population which was to be found in his own diocese and elsewhere. His contacts with them were conciliatory and tactful, much more so than with Christians who differed from the church in doctrine or organization. He sought every opportunity to address them personally, a practice which he likewise followed constantly among his people. He was accustomed to declare that the practical instruction offered through preaching to the people constituted a

noble and significant distinction between Christianity and Paganism, since pagan priests sacrificed and were silent. Augustine's judgment on this point is worthy of consideration today.

During the thirty-four years of Augustine's bishopric, however, three controversies of widely differing character absorbed the greater part of his time and thought—Manichaeism, Donatism and Pelagianism. No detailed description of these isms need be offered here, except such as will be necessary to indicate the problems which confronted Augustine, how he sought to meet them, and what they present of practical import for our own problems today.

The first and most persistent of his controversies was with the Manichaeans. That was a cult whose teachings involved the very foundations of religious and philosophical belief, and from the first it spread with great rapidity. The story of Mani, the reputed founder, and the development of his system, sounds like a prototype of some of our own modern perversions, like Bahaism and Christian Science. Zoroastrianism furnished the body of the system with the dual deities of Good and Evil, which were identified respectively with spirit and matter. To this was added, in course of time, the Buddhist doctrine of purification by the transmigration of souls, and certain other pantheistic elements.

Manichaeism was thoroughly Gnostic in character, and for that reason easily found a point of contact with Christianity through some of the earlier heresies. The Manichaeans freely used the language of the church, but its whole content was changed. Christ for them had no historic existence; he was a Docetic Christ, one—to quote their leader, Faustus—"who appeared in the form of a man, but was not man." Quite in the manner also of Mrs. Eddy they freely used the contents of Scripture, but in senses wholly different from its obvious meaning. The Manichaean doctrine of "the elect" who had been liberated by "the Truth," and who were to form a superior class set apart to extend Mani's influence by ascetic practices, furnished another point of contact with a growing practice of the church, which it had already borrowed from the East.

Through its boasted appeal to reason, its flattery of intellectual pride, its championship of truth and liberty, Manichaeism held a strong fascination for many minds in those troubled times. Augustine himself was a case in point, and there can be no doubt that his former connection with this heresy made him the more eager to combat its perversions.

Augustine's first valuable contribution was his book on *The Usefulness of Believing,* an honorable attempt to recall his friend, Honoratus, whom he had led earlier into Manichaeism. His attempt to vindicate the dignity of faith was effective, though somewhat marred by his frequent confusion of the principle of faith with the church's body of accepted doctrine. This was followed by other writings of unequal merit on various phases of doctrines already noted. In his own diocese, and elsewhere in Africa, however, Augustine achieved his greatest triumphs in public disputation, of which he was a master. In this way he conquered two Manichaean bishops in succession, and many converts were received, to the great glory of the church. Augustine's most convincing argument was expressed in this dilemma: "If the Supreme God could be injured by evil, He was not inviolate; if He could not be injured, He ought not to have subjected souls to bodies which the Manichaeans considered essentially evil."

The victory of Augustine over Manichaeism was decisive. The doctrine of Dualism surrendered to the supreme unity of God; evil and sin were recognized as existing neither in God nor in the nature of things, but in the weakened human will. Other questions which naturally rose out of the controversy were not so happily met, and remain to vex the church at times. The Manichaean church disappeared before the logic of Augustine, and the displeasure of the Empire, which the church was not unwilling to use. Yet it left its mark upon the church through the impetus it imparted to the ascetic principle, and the encouragement it gave to the idea of different classes of believers. In the person of Augustine, its one-time disciple, it marked the church even more deeply through the effect of its teaching which he was never able wholly to cast off. His pessimism with regard to human nature, and the fatalism which expresses itself in his doctrine of predestination,

are alike the product of his Manichaean years—unless it may possibly be attributed to the genius of African Christianity, and we may see in gloomy Tertullian and severe Cyprian examples of the same spirit.

Augustine's second great controversy, and the bitterest, was with the Donatists. No question of orthodoxy entered into his struggle with this schism; it was strictly a matter of ecclesiastical order and discipline. Donatism was the expression of non-conformity in the ancient church, which had even earlier manifested itself in Novatianism. It arose from an effort to establish a standard of rigorous purity for the church. The occasion of its origin was the persecution visited upon the Christians by Diocletian, 303 A. D., in which the Emperor demanded the surrender of the Christians' sacred books. Those who handed their books over were called "traditores" by their more zealous brethren, and the animus of that epithet we have embedded in our English derivative, "traitor."

Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, deceived the Emperor's commissioners by surrendering *heretical* books instead, in which he was aided by his arch-deacon, Caecilian. They were bitterly feproached for this act by their more uncompromising associates. Upon the death of Mensurius, Caecilian was hastily consecrated bishop in his stead; but it was done in the absence of the Numidian bishops, and they refused to acknowledge the legality of his election. They charged him with being half a "traditor," and accused Felix of Aptunga, who had consecrated him, with the same offense. In these charges was formulated the principle which was to be the central contention of Donatism throughout. The purity and authority of the church depended on the faultlesss character of its clergy; their defection vitiated the value and efficacy of the spiritual grace they administered: hence Felix could not consecrate Caecilian, and Caecilian's ministrations likewise were invalid.

Under Donatus, of Carthage, a greater leader than the first Donatus, of Cava Nigra, who directed the first protest at the Council at Cirta, Donatism swept Africa like wildfire. Efforts were made in vain to stamp it out. Constantine the Great, in the

first flush of his zeal for the church, sought to crush the schism in 312 A. D., but, after ten years of fruitless effort, gave it up in disgust.

When Augustine entered upon his bishopric, Donatism had existed nearly a century. It would be impossible to tell here the story of its development, but it seemed to have prospered amazingly. Augustine found himself a minority religious leader in his own diocese, because the Donatists quite outnumbered the Catholics. The same was true throughout Africa. Having been a schismatic himself as a Manichaean, Augustine recognized the danger of the situation, and set promptly at work to remedy it. He was indefatigable in preaching and writing, and met with a measure of success. He challenged their leaders to debate, the method which had been so efficient with the Manichaeans, but they declined. Their separatistic spirit forbade: the passions of decades of strife rendered such a contact impossible.

Augustine began in sweet reasonableness, with which he expressed the sincerest feelings of his heart. He used his highest powers to convince the Donatists of the weakness of the contention on which their schism was built. He proved to the satisfaction of others, if not to them, that the sacraments and ministry of the church had a virtue that was objective, and which was not to be alienated by the character of its members. The Christian church has accepted Augustine's logic. To make the church and its means of grace depend upon the worthiness of its ministers alone would be to remove the divine foundations on which they stood.

But Augustine was dealing not alone with ideas; he had to contend with a well-defined and aggressive organization which was stronger than his own; he had to meet the passions and reproaches which had been built up by nearly a century of strife. And so, at length, Augustine opposed party spirit with a spirit equally partisan. Smarting under many provocations, Augustine was led to invoke the secular power, through an appeal to the Emperor. He, who formerly had allowed only spiritual measures against heretics, now interpreted Christ's words, "compel them to come in," as allowing the state to be invoked to force the Donatists back into the church.

The result was disastrous to Catholics and Donatists alike. The struggle attained new heights of bitterness, and, when Augustine lay dying, the fierce cries of the Donatists fell upon his ears mingled with the shouts of the conquering Vandals, with whom they had joined forces in their desperation. Donatism was crushed, but not by the church of Christ or his Spirit. The last vestige of the schism was destroyed by the invading Mohammedans in the seventh century.

The third great controversy in which Augustine engaged was with Pelagius, a Welsh monk of austere and blameless life, or rather with his doctrine of man. An intimate friend of Chrysostom in Constantinople; highly honored in Rome, where he wrote several books in which no one had scented heresy; revered by Augustine himself, who called him "a pre-eminent Christian," he seemed the last man to invite the charge of heresy.

The interest of Pelagius in his doctrine was really not theological at all, but practical. He saw men excusing themselves for their vices on the ground of human weakness, and so he presented the dignity and worthiness of human nature. If it had not been for his friend and disciple, Coelestius, a radical-minded Scotchman of aggressive character, Pelagius might well have become a Saint and Father of the church. But Coelestius became a presbyter at Carthage in 411 A. D., and within a year was tried and condemned for heresy by a council of the church because he denied the universal force of one man's sin, and that mankind therefore was condemned to death and even rendered helpless for righteousness.

When the decisions of the Council were submitted to Augustine, he approved them. At the request of his friend, Marcellinus, he began the explanation of the doctrine of original sin which was to develop through many years and writings into that doctrinal tangle of predestination and its corollaries with which the name of Augustine, for good and ill, is identified.

In the meantime Pelagius was in Palestine, enjoying the friendship of Jerome and John of Jerusalem, and seemingly not officially involved in the condemnation of Coelestius. The chance for that came when Pelagius was asked to write a letter of con-

gratulation to a Roman lady, Demetrias, who had become a nun. Augustine wrote to her also. Pelagius' letter eulogized the loftiness of human nature, and denounced the senseless assertions of a "total corruption of the will." Virginity was honorable, but men and women could live holy lives anywhere. This was salutary, but dangerous doctrine for the time, and it was remembered against him.

A little later, 415 A. D., Orosius, a Spanish admirer of Augustine, came to Palestine, and was scandalized to find a man against whom Augustine had written received in polite ecclesiastical society. This busybody attacked Pelagius before a synod in Jerusalem, but the question raised was referred to Innocent at Rome. Another synod was called at Lydda, at which Pelagius refused to be held responsible for anything but what he had written himself. He accepted the *recognized* doctrines of the church; declared he was not in sympathy with the opinions of Coelestius, but, when asked to anathematize certain errors and their holders, replied that he would do so if they might be condemned as fools and not as heretics; he avowed that, while he considered a sinless life possible, he had never asserted its *reality,* nor had he excluded the grace of God when he argued for free will in man.

Pelagius was acquitted, but the fight went on. Orosius sought out Augustine, and there were more writings along the same line, only harder and worse. Augustine was now as extreme in his way as Coelestius had been in his. Then there were other councils called. Innocent of Rome was appealed to, and he was so pleased with the attention that he promptly excommunicated Pelagius, Coelestius and their friends, and they were left to die in obscurity.

But before one of them, Julian of Eclanum, died, he gave Augustine many a bad hour. This noble and gifted bishop made Augustine reconsider his arguments very carefully, so carefully, indeed, that Augustine's reply to Julian's last attack was still unfinished at the time of his death. For Julian had left with Augustine this question among others: "What would God be if, without either justice or mercy, He punished those whom He had created for evil, and because He had Himself created them of the race of Adam?" The only answer Augustine had to that was, "How

unsearchable are thy judgments, and thy ways past finding out!", but in his own heart Augustine was not sure that was the right answer.

In this, as in the other controversies, Augustine triumphed, and for more than a thousand years his authority was unquestioned. He became the supreme teacher of the church, with Aquinas as his prophet. Pelagianism vanished from the accepted doctrine of the Roman church, but it has increasingly prevailed in its practice ever since. Even in the Protestant communions which honor him most the same is true. In the seething world of modern thought there is little reverence for his one-time authority; only his glaring faults are remembered and arraigned. And yet—

Men are forgetting that Augustine's message was the product of a time of crisis, when the whole world was shaken, and men's hearts were desperately uneasy and afraid, as was his own. He fought his fears; he struggled with his doubts; he followed his longings; he trusted his faith; he surrendered his life. At length he could say, "O God, Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless until they find their rest in Thee!" Men followed him, for they wanted the same thing; they could not help themselves, for they followed something in the man that was greater than himself. So it was with Wycliffe and Hus and Savonarola. It claimed Luther and Calvin and Knox. It led Pascal and Spener and Wesley.

And now we have another crisis. Does anyone fail to see it? Amid the modern "confusion of tongues" and the blare of trumpets that give an uncertain sound, there are voices and tones that sound true. They may be unorthodox—Augustine was to that arbiter of orthodoxy, Vincent of Lerins, who condemned him with his dictum, "quod semper, quod ubique et quod ab omnibus." They may recoil with disgust from the system that is stamped with Augustine's name—some of them certainly do. Yet they lift their voices in pleading for the selfsame things, because they realize man's desperate need of them. Brunner and Barth are doing it on the Continent; in England and here their voices are multiplying. In a recent issue of *The Christian Century* a story of the "New Uni-

tarianism" closes with these words: "When a church finds God it can no longer argue about Him, but must rather fall on its knees in worship, and then rise and turn to do His bidding in the midst of His suffering world." Is it foolish to hear in the messages of these men an echo of Augustine's prayer—"Give what Thou dost command, and what Thou wilt"?

We wonder at the authority of Augustine when we consider his mistakes and contradictions. But the reason is in himself. It lies in his understanding, which was deeper than the wisdom of Manichaeism; in his experience, which was broader than Donatism; in his sympathy, which was more comprehending than Pelagianism. Workman expresses the same thought in another way. "Augustine was the first of the leaders of the Church to give full expression to the truths called evangelical, that religion is a personal relationship between the soul and God."

There are other attainments of Augustine we shall do well to recognize. In his *Confessions* he laid the first foundations of modern psychology, and furnished a classic textbook; with his *City of God,* written in the travail of his soul, he did the same thing for the philosophy of history; as a metaphysician he anticipated Malebranche and Leibnitz and Descartes at their best. These things will help us to appreciate how wisely Harnack calls him "the first modern man."

But there is an even finer immortality that has kept him alive through all these years. You will meet it in the region that knew him fifteen hundred years ago as boy and sinner, as bishop and theologian. His field of labor lies desolate today; his people are gone; another faith has long ruled there. And yet the memory of him persists. These people of an alien religion speak of him freely, and when they do they call him "Rumi Keber"—"the great Christian."

ADOLF HARNACK

J. L. NEVE
Springfield, Ohio

ADOLF HARNACK died June 10, 1930, at the age of seventy-nine. In evaluating the work of this remarkable scholar one asks in what respect his work has been superseded and what is his significance for the new age and its problems. It would be interesting to gather from the press in Germany the many articles concerning this man, whom Professor Erich Seeberg has characterized as a historical "phenomenon" comparable only with Schleiermacher; and some estimate of his work is in order at this time.[1]

Harnack was the son of Professor Theodosius Harnack at the University in Dorpat in the Baltic provinces, who was an outstanding representative of the revived Lutheranism of the second third of the last century. He began his career as theological teacher in the Leipzig University (1874). He taught first in Giessen, then in Marburg, and after the publication of his *History of Dogma* he was called to the University of Berlin (1889). He was one of the most brilliant scholars that the academic world of Germany has produced. His name was heard in the universities of all countries and many honors were bestowed upon him.

Professor Seeberg in his funeral address drew a parallel with Goethe, with whom Harnack was said to have had in common the characteristics of the peculiar German idealism which viewed nature and spirit as an organic whole and as the specific means of all knowledge. Harnack held no recognition for supernatural revelation. And in another respect also Professor Seeberg characterized him. He called him a "Christian humanist." This, he said, was expressed in his endeavor to find the essence of Christianity and its eternal truth in the historic method of investigation, adding that this "Christian humanism" appeared in his insistency

1 This account, which the writer has kindly submitted at this time, constitutes, in part, a chapter in his forthcoming book, *The History of Christian Thought.* (Ed.)

upon a "simple Gospel," namely, that God is the loving Father. To Harnack, Jesus was not a part of the Gospel, but just the messenger of it. In this message we are asked to have confidence. It was Harnack's judgment that he who has found God does not need a mediation nor an atonement. In this position, which he expressed in his *Essence of Christianity,* he separated himself from the Lutheran church. Some thirty-five years ago Harnack was in America, lecturing in Union Theological Seminary, New York. Our Lutheran seminaries, knowing how he stood on fundamental things, were not able to invite him.

On some matters Harnack returned to more conservative positions, and then he did not hesitate to announce it, even though it lost him friends among his former associates. So for instance when he declared that all New Testament writings, with the possible exception of Second Peter, are genuine. Formerly he had declined the Gospel of John and the writings of Luke. Occasionally his writings gave special offense to the church, as, for example, when he published his book on Marcion and declared that the church had made a mistake in not following him in the rejection of the Old Testament.

HARNACK'S TYPE AS A THEOLOGIAN

His *History of Dogma,* in three large volumes, is in a class altogether by itself. It appeared between 1886 and 1890 under the title *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte.* From the third edition (1894-1897) it was translated into English in seven volumes by N. Buchanan (1894-1903). Harnack also prepared a *Grundriss* of his work, which in 1922 saw its sixth edition, a book of 486 pages. Earlier editions of this volume were translated into English.[2]

Harnack developed theologically under special influences from A. Ritschl, and was convinced that a confessional Christianity ("dogmatisches Christentum") has no future in the church. He

2 For some estimates of this work while the author was still living we refer to the article by F. Loofs in *Protestantische Realencyklopaedie,* Vol. IV, pp. 759 ff.; also to Loofs' *Dogmengeschichte* (4th ed.), pp. 5-7; to N. Bonwetsch, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte* (2nd ed.), pp. 7 ff.; to R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte,* I (3rd ed.), pp. 24, 13, 16; to F. Weigand, *Dogmengeschichte,* I, pp. 4 f.; and to G. P. Fisher, *History of Doctrine,* pp. 2 f.

admits that the History of Dogma is a witness to the unity of the Christian faith, because it shows that the central significance of Christ and the fundamentals of the Gospel have maintained themselves in the face of all attacks. Harnack's view of the significance of Christ and the Gospel is set forth in his *Essence of Christianity*. Yet, as Bonwetsch remarks, Harnack has presented the History of Dogma as "issuing in the dissolution of the dogma." Harnack himself closes his introductory review of the "conception and aim of the *History of Dogma* with the statement that the History of Dogma is the best way of liberating the church from the "dogmatisches Christentum" (*Grundriss,* p. 6). He stresses the element of flux and constant development in doctrine and theology: "Das Dogma hat stets im Fortang der Geschichte seine eigenen Väter verschlungen" (p. 5).

By "dogma" Harnack means particularly the dogma of the ancient church, more particularly the Christological dogma, as it found expression in the theology of the "rules of faith," in the Nicene and the Apostles' Creed, and was completed in its fundamental outlines about the year 300—"a conception of the Greek mind in the realm of the Gospel"—and was recognized by the church in the fourth and fifth centuries.[3]

This dogma, Harnack insists, has become antiquated, which he undertakes to show by referring to its three distinct issues: (1) In the Eastern Orthodox church, after a development that closed with John Damascus, it became petrified; the life of this church today lies in its cultus. (2) For the Roman Catholic church this Greek dogma underwent a modification through the Augustinian system, preserving, however, in the Decrees of Trent, its specifically Hellenistic character. But the later Vatican dogma of the infallibility of the pope practically shelved these decrees and made obedience to the hierarchy the controlling principle. (3) The Protestant Reformers took over the Greek dogma, but in contradiction with their own principles touching the matter of doctrinal authority in the church; for dogmas are admitted to be always subject to revision. The Lutheran church particularly is at fault

3 Cf. Loofs, PRE, IV, p. 760, lines 21-25.

because of its adherence to a dogmatic Christianity. Here we ask whether in the constant process of purification of the dogma, there may not be an abiding element that needs not be sacrificed. Even the Lutheran church, aiming at a constantly improved understanding of the Scriptures, does not believe in unalterable Confessions.

Upon the basis of his conception that the History of Dogma issues in its own dissolution, Harnack now naturally has no interest in following the history of confessional development in the age of the Reformation, simply because he takes its foundation and presuppositions to be faulty. So he stops his investigations with the Council of Trent and with a brief report on Protestantism in its first stage of doctrinal development. The doctrinal "inconsistencies" of the Reformers and their differences among themselves are left by Harnack to be treated in a special department of Church History. It is of greatest interest to note that in this radical limitation of the History of Dogma to the particular dogma of the ancient church, its rise and dissolution, Harnack has had no successors, not even in the confessionally independent Loofs who dedicated his own great work to him "in Dankbarkeit und Freundschaft."

The popularity of Harnack's *History of Dogma* has its explanation: (1) Its publication fell into an age of widest opposition to dogma and creeds. Harnack does not really deny the inner impulse of Christianity to express its faith and its convictions in public statements, but he looks upon the *normative* significance of such statements as something that has never generally functioned in the church and is incapable of functioning. Harnack overlooks that the publicly accepted Confessions of faith have always been a powerful factor in stimulating the *doctrina publica* of the church in liturgy, hymnology, preaching, in devotional literature and in principles of church government. They have aided the church in maintaining its identity and in preserving the best of the past, the heritage that deserves to live. In his indifference to this interest and armed with an immense store of learning, he made himself the historian of the anticreedal attitude in the field of the History of Dogma itself. In this he was bound to become the leader of many, especially outside of the Lutheran church where a milder concep-

tion of confessions of faith has always been recognized. (2) It must also be kept in mind that Harnack's work appeared at a time when the Ritschlian points of emphasis were an attraction to many. Then (3), he offered an entirely new method in dealing with the History of Dogma as a branch of theology. The traditional categories for organization of the material were dismissed, the details of his outlines were dictated by the genetical development. Harnack takes much from the characterization of personalities and from the situation of the times. A conspicuous feature is the repeated attempt to view many individual events as an expression of conditions in the church as a whole, often, however, leaving the reader with the critical feeling that the author has risked too much in conjecturing. We may close this review of Harnack with the following evaluation by Seeberg: "A many-sidedness of historical viewpoints, unity and energy in raising questions, a vivid doctrinal interest and a fascinating manner of presentation have secured for this work a far-reaching influence upon future endeavors in the field of the History of Dogma."

RURAL CHURCH PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTIONS

M. J. KLUTTZ
Waynesboro, Virginia

IN days gone by rural churches were planted without official supervision. There were no home mission executives to direct the proper locating of rural churches. Country people formed themselves into congregations and built their own churches in localities best suited to their day without outside financial assistance. They paid for their own churches and supported their own pastors. When their members moved to the city they raised funds to help their brethren establish churches in urban centers.

With the introduction of free rural delivery, the development of good roads, and the industrialization of the South, radical changes have taken place in the country. The country postoffice and the rural public school house have gone. Farmers are leaving the country for the city at the rate of two million a year. Rural communities are being depopulated. Farms are passing into the possession of banks and insurance companies. The soil is being tilled by tenants who are constantly on the go. The transition has produced a tremendous problem for the rural church. The passing of the rural postoffice and the public school have left the rural church to struggle alone. Many rural churches find themselves unsuitably located in deserted communities and are unable to draw the people back to the church from these centers whither they have gone. Consequently great losses in membership and financial support are the results. The old church building is trying to serve a new day. The inability to bring the building program up to date and provide a weekly program of religious services and a modern program of religious education largely accounts for the rural church's inability to hold its own or prosper. Consequently many country churches are merely existing and numbers have had to be abandoned.

A survey of the agricultural situation gives an explanation of

the tremendous revolution in old rural communities and church life. Mr. N. A. Olsen, chief of the Federal Bureau of Agricultural Economics, says: "American agriculture is not only suffering from deflation of land values, from high taxes, and from low levels of its products, but also from general overproduction. The substitution of tractors for horses, increased consumption of sugar, vegetables and fruits, with a decrease in consumption of wheat, corn and meat; a decrease in European demand for American farm products; and the enormous expansion of production in semi-arid areas in Canada, Australia, Argentine, and our own West are the cause for overproduction of farm products. The latter tendency represents a real agricultural revolution. The development of machinery adapted to the level areas of the semi-arid West and the introduction of double-resisting varieties of grain and cotton have made possible an expansion of crop area in such sections, in spite of the agricultural depression. On the other hand, extensive areas in the East, North and Old South have become unprofitable for agriculture, a tendency which has been encouraged by the spread of urban standards of living and of wages throughout the country."

These far-reaching changes have brought severe hardship and economic disintegration to many agricultrial regions. Farm abandonment has become common. Between 1920 and 1926 one hundred and sixty-eight thousand farmers lost their farms through foreclosure procedures. Land values have fallen and many farms have become virtually unsalable. Banks and insurance companies hold large numbers of farms and they are uncultivated because unprofitable for farming. In some instances they are cultivated by tenants who are constantly on the go and do not materially contribute to the rural community. In communities where farming is no longer profitable public revenues have declined seriously. The burden of maintaining schools and roads for those who remain in these regions has grown heavier. From one-fifth to one-half of the farmer's net income goes for taxes. The recent census report shows that many sections in Virginia have many less farms and farmers today than in 1920. The loss of population in rural districts and the reduction in the number of farms is said to be nation wide.

The abandonment of farms due to lack of profitable returns in farm products, the increase of taxes to maintain schools and roads, and the decrease in rural population, directly affect and intensify the problems. It decreases the rural church membership and makes it impossible to grow numerically. It diminishes the financial resources and makes it more difficult for the rural church to support its pastor, pay its apportionment, and put on a program of church services and of religious education and church equipment commensurate with the modern requirements of church efficiency and progress.

The Federal Census report for 1926 shows that there are 147 Lutheran churches in Virginia. Twenty-one churches are in city territory, while 126 are in the rural communities, with 6,139 members in the city and 13,113 members in the country. The average membership for the rural church is 109; that for the city is 447. The average cost of the rural church is $5,385.00; that for the city church is $49,749.00. The average annual expenditure for the rural church is $1,271.00; for the city it is $12,082.00. The average annual contribution of the rural church member is $11.66; that of the city member is $25.33. The average per capita value of all farm property in Virginia is $800.00, and the average per capita income for the rural population is $128.00. While the rural church member earns little, owns little, has an inexpensive church building and maintains it on a small budget, yet he gives generously according to his ability.

But these statistics reveal the enormous handicap under which the rural church is laboring. The rural church has poorer equipment than the city church, fewer members and less financial ability. It is estimated that it takes 285 members to maintain a church with a worthwhile program. With a membership of 109 it is evident that the rural church cannot maintain a worthwhile program on an equality with the city church of 447 members. Yet the rural church must meet the standards of the city church if it is to hold its members and be efficient and prosper.

The solution of the rural church problems is no small task. It calls for the best thought and profoundest concern of the leaders of the church. In order that we might profit from the knowledge

and experience of our church leaders we sent a questionnaire to our presidents and superintendents of synods, presidents of our colleges and seminaries, editors of our church papers, executives of our home mission board and leading rural pastors. There were twenty questions pertaining to our rural church and its problems. The response has been gratifying and those answering the questionnaire seem to have a keen interest in and some knowledge of how the rural church problem should be approached. Replies have come from territory ranging all the way from New York to Florida. We shall give the result of the survey.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is the chief rural church problem? The answers were: Increasing the membership, inadequate salary, lack of up-to-date activity, changing population, absentee membership, evangelization, weekly programs, poor preachers.

2. How may it be solved? By merging congregations, by earnest and wide-awake pastors, by education and hard work, and by faithful preaching, catechization, pastoral visitation and adaptation to needs.

3. Has your synod a rural church policy? Answers indicate that no synod, except New York, has a policy, except a general one, as shown by the replies to question 2.

4. Has the United Lutheran Church a rural church policy? The answers indicate that it has none.

5. What is the policy of the Board of American Missions? The replies state that the board's policy is to merge rural churches and confine its activities to town and city missions.

6. Are any rural missions under the Board of American Missions? The answers show that there are very few.

7. How many? Four in North Carolina, one in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, one in Virginia.

8. How many missionaries? Answers give nine in the territory covered.

9. How many rural missions in your Synod? Ten in Virginia, one in West Virginia, seven in North Carolina, one in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, two in Georgia.

10. How much money is appropriated in your synod for rural missions? $4,200.00 in Virginia, $400.00 in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, $1,000.00 in Georgia. The North Carolina Synod gives aid to non-self-supporting rural parishes.

11. How much is appropriated for rural missions by the Board of American Missions? The answers indicate that Virginia and West Virginia receive specific sums.

12. Is there a need for home missions in the country? There is a need in some sections in several states.

13. What should be done with the rural church that is unable to grow and maintain itself financially? Teach it how to do it. Transfer members to other churches and provide for their transportation. Merge if possible, but save it. Provide for its welfare, attach to another parish, or provide supply.

14. What should be done where small churches overlap in territory? The one answer from all is to consolidate or merge.

15. How can they be consolidated centrally? By leadership and by forgetting sentiments. Conditions determine the method of procedure.

16. What should the pastor's salary be? Answers range from $1,200.00 to $2,000.00 with car and parsonage.

17. Is the average contribution of the rural church member equal to that of the city member? It is $9.00 for the rural and $24.00 for the city member in the Lutheran church. In the State of Virginia in all denominations it is is $11.60 for the rural and $25.33 for the city member.

18. Does the rural church need specially qualified pastors? Some answer no, and others yes. It is important that rural pastors be carefully selected and specially trained and that they be qualified with love for rural work and a knowledge of how to do it; acquainted with and sympathetic toward rural problems.

19. Do our seminaries have courses especially helpful for rural pastors? "We are not giving any special courses for rural pastors at our Seminary, the reason being that we have not yet been convinced that rural pastors need different preparation from other pastors inasmuch as most of the men who go into rural congregations are men who come from congregations of that kind."

"We give a course in Rural Sociology which aims to pave the way for such specific training. Summer courses for rural pastors in the larger institutions are available for continued preparation."

20. What is the encouraging thing in the rural church? Answers point out that it is still living, and mention construction of new buildings and Sunday school rooms, and increased interest in apportionment and organizations; increased liberality; the possibilities and large opportunities; simple faith; the desire and willingness of the people to co-operate with the program of the church; the awakening of a spirit of self-respect and a vision of community service and betterment which is taking possession of a number of rural churches.

A SUGGESTED POLICY

An adequate rural church policy should include at least the following:

1. Consolidation of small churches in a central locality at the most accessible point, say for example, at the consolidated public schools.

2. Churches in close proximity to each other should be placed in the same parish in order that the pastor may be able to conduct weekly services and develop a worthwhile program of religious education and evangelization.

3. Synodical aid should be given to the smaller parishes in order that the churches may continue to live and that the pastors may have an adequate salary.

4. Rural self-respect should be fostered and due recognition given to rural people and pastors.

5. Missions should be developed in unchurched rural communities. Fifty-eight per cent of the rural people in Virginia are members of no church. The towns and cities are overchurched while the great open spaces in the country are underchurched. The masses of the country people do not have the Gospel. The rural problem is a missionary problem. The underprivileged class of rural people are unloved and unsought. The Lutheran church in the past has been a rural church largely. At present fifty-two per cent of the Lutheran churches are in the country with 397,501

members in rural territory. With this record before us it is a disgrace to cease our home missionary activities in the country. Towns and cities need the Lutheran church but the rural field is larger and riper unto the harvest.

6. The rural minister needs special training. Since the rural minister is a social force in the community and an important factor in the rural church, the type and training of the rural minister is important to an understanding of the rural church problem. The mere fact that a man wah born and reared in the country does not mean that he is qualified to serve in the rural parish. He needs special training for rural work. Our seminaries should provide helpful courses for rural pastors. Rural sociology, economics and psychology; rural life, the country home and family, etc., would greatly aid. The average pastor has little time to become well informed on these subjects that are essential to his success. One rural problem is enormous ignorance of the rural conditions as they really exist. If the Lutheran church's attitude toward the rural church is to be city-minded and city-directed, the rural church will die for lack of understanding and sympathy.

The rural church has suffered from an inadequate ministry. "The young preacher gets his training in the country, gives his best service to the city and returns to the country for old age and death." A recent survey shows there is a shortage of middle-aged ministers in the rural church. "There is a high point between 25 and 35 years of age, a sharp decline from 35 to 50, the period of man's greatest efficiency of active service, and then after 50 another peak." Young men and old men cannot meet the needs of the country church. She needs men who will stay at the task all along the time of their active service.

Not only does the young minister use the rural church as a training field for city work but generally rural ministers are city minded. They have little love for the rural parish, little sympathy with rural problems and little interest in rural people. The man with this attitude will not stay in the country. Ask this type of pastor what his program for the rural church is and he will tell you: My program is to move.

However, it must be said in all fairness to the minister that

there are conditions which force him to be inclined toward the city. Lack of social contacts, poor schools, inadequate home conveniences, and the feeling that the city offers a wider field of service, influence the minister to leave the country. From the age of 35 to 50 his children are growing up and must be educated. During these years the minister is capable of rendering the best service to the church, but it is also the period when he desires to live in the city where his children may have the advantage of good schools which are not available in the country.

Moreover the type of ministry in the open country will be determined by the farmer's income. The farmer's low income makes it impossible for the rural pastor to receive an adequate salary. The rural pastor's salary ranges from $1,200.00 to $1,700.00. In view of the fact that the rural pastor supports a family of five, serves three churches, pays his own transportation (it costs about $600.00 a year to maintain a car in the country parish), must buy books and periodicals and attend several conventions a year, it is clear that the rural pastor is inadequately supported. A capable ministry will never remain in the country without reasonable financial reward.

7. We need a rural church policy in the United Lutheran Church with competent leadership to direct and advise rural churches. The Methodist and the Presbyterians have directors of rural churches who spend all their time in studying the rural church problems and supervising rural church activities, and these churches are getting things done in the country. Such a director in the United Lutheran Church would more than justify the cost in tangible returns.

THE IMPORTANCE OF RURAL WORK

With all the problems of the rural church, its difficulties, inadequate buildings, financial problems, infrequent services, underpaid pastors and small congregations, the rural church is a going institution. It is no more backward than county governments and city politics. It is still the backbone of Christian civilization. Eighty per cent of the churches and Sunday schools are still in the country. Five-sixths of the preachers come from rural churches.

Six-sevenths of the college professors come from the country. Three-fourths of the college students are reared on the farm. Seventeen of the twenty-seven presidents of the United States were country boys, including President Hoover. The rural church, therefore, is a vital factor in modern society and is making a large contribution to christian civilization. It is the conviction of some leaders of the church that Christian civilization will win or lose with the rural pastor and country church.

OUR GROWING PAINS[1]

E. B. BURGESS
Crafton, Pennsylvania

IT is quite natural that the interest of all assembled here should center about the achievements of the Merger Synod. This is our tenth anniversary, and so many fine things have been accomplished during the period that no one can find fault if there is a general disposition to celebrate. But strange as it may seem to you, coming from the lips of one who has lived for ten years in the heart of these achievements, my chief interest at this time is not in the record of the period of years, but in the life of the body itself. Outside my study window is a fine May Duke cherry tree, the joy of the robins and the despair of the owner at the same time. My interest is not in the fruitage of the last ten years, much as we have enjoyed it, but in the fruit-bearing power of the growing tree. And my interest in this tenth anniversary is not a self-centered interest in the achievements of a ten year administration, but an interest in the Pittsburgh Synod of every administration. My mind refuses to be satisfied in the contemplation of the results of a few years of labor, and longs for a fuller understanding of the developing life of the synod through all the years.

It carries me back to a memorable fifteenth day of January in the year of grace, 1845; it leads me into a large church auditorium located at the corner of Seventh Avenue and Miltenberger alley in downtown Pittsburgh; in the front part of the church it points out a little group of eight pastors and six laymen busily engaged in conference; it has once more introduced me to the birth hour of a great synod. Seated at opposite ends of a table in front of the group are two men of almost opposite types; the elder of the two is Michael J. Steck of Greensburg, pastor of more than a thousand Lutherans of Old Westmoreland, and first president of the synod;

1 Address delivered at Tenth Anniversary banquet of the Pittsburgh Synod Merger, June 19, 1930.

the younger, a bright-eyed boy of twenty-three, whose feet are never still for a minute, and who is eager to take part in every discussion, is none other than William Alfred Passavant, first secretary of the synod, and destined to fill a prominent niche in the Lutheran Hall of Fame. The other pastors gathered there are: Gottlieb Bassler of Butler, G. F. Ehrenfeld and S. D. Witt of Clarion County, Elihu Rathbun of Mercer County, Abraham Wills of Washington County and David Earhart of Leechburg. The laymen are Jacob Steck of Greensburg, James Griffin of Mercer, Frederick Carstens of Scenery Hill, George Weyman of Pittsburgh, C. S. Passavant of Zelienople and Joseph Shoop of Freeport. Tonight their spirits rejoice with ours in the achievements of the years, for there has never been an hour since the Pittsburgh Synod was born, when the growing power of the Spirit of God has not been at work in her churches. Sometimes this growing power has produced growing pains that have been interpreted so differently by different people that I crave the privilege of adding a personal interpretation at this time. As I see it:

GROWING PAINS ARE CAUSED BY THE INNER PRESSURE OF A GREAT IDEAL

When painless peace marks every convention of a synod, and there is scarcely a ripple of discontent seen anywhere among the congregations, it furnishes prima facie evidence that forward-looking programs are lacking and church ideals low. Some men apparently cannot get this forward look; they are too busily engaged in admiring what has been. And it follows naturally that such men are never bothered with growing pains. The Pittsburgh Synod has never known what it means to be free from them, and we hope it never will. At its first convention, the young man with the bright eyes and restless feet, who sat at the secretary's desk, had so many ideas to suggest that the slower-moving pastors were kept busy for several years, trying to carry them out. These ideas and ideals were so far beyond his own personal strength that his health broke, and he was compelled to take a long rest in the Fatherland. But here the same pair of bright eyes saw everything that was to be seen; and the young man returned to his home in America with

so many new plans, and so many new ambitions, that his synod has not been able to catch up with his enlarged program even to the present day. If you doubt this, pay a visit to the Passavant Hospital, and see how the oldest institution of its kind on this continent is permitted to languish.

Some men admire William A. Passavant because of his pulpit power; others because of his love of children, his great heart of mercy, his home mission zeal, his breadth of vision, his executive genius; but the quality that has ever enthralled me, and commanded my profoundest respect, was his prophetic gift. He could see things. Never before nor since has the womb of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America given birth to such a prophet of the Most High. It was this outstanding gift that enabled him to plan the work of his synod for a hundred years to come, and gave to his ministerial life an abiding influence far beyond that of his compeers.

And many of the compeers of Passavant were men of renown. One of them was Charles Porterfield Krauth, who assembled most of his material for his classic *Conservative Reformation* at the suggestion of Thomas H. Lane, while yet a pastor in this city; another was George Henry Gerberding who prepared the manuscript for the *Way of Salvation* in a second story room of the Jewett Parsonage; another was Henry Eyster Jacobs, the grand old man of the Philadelphia Seminary; another was Milton Valentine, teacher par excellence and builder of men in the Gettysburg institutions; another was Henry Ziegler, greatest among the teachers of Susquehanna; another was Gottlieb Bassler, first president of the General Council, and elected to office before he reached the convention; another was Samuel Bacon Barnitz, of whom it was once said on the floor of the General Synod, "When the Lutherans made a preacher of Sam Barnitz, they spoiled the finest railroad president in the United States"; another was John George Goettman, one of the finest Christian leaders it has ever been my privilege to know; and yet after a long study of the biographies of these great men, prolonged through almost a lifetime, I do not hesitate to write the name of William Alfred Passavant high above them all.

Born and bred in the General Synod, I never saw this prince of

the church in the flesh; but, during the last ten years, I have learned to know him better than ninety-nine out of every hundred men seated in this banquet hall. I have met him among the children of the Orphans Home and Farm School at Zelienople; I have caught his spirit in the great hospitals at Milwaukee, Chicago and Pittsburgh, where the wreckage of suffering humanity was being salvaged by the tenderest hands; I have seen his healing shadow among the epileptics on the hills above Rochester; I have sensed his presence in the class rooms of Thiel College and the Chicago Seminary, where the young men of the church were studying in preparation for Christian leadership; I have been made conscious of my indebtedness to him in scores of the leading churches of this synod, which owe their very existence to his home mission enterprise; and I have never yet presided at a convention of this synod, in which ways and means of church work, originating in his heart and brain, were not in use. When a church is blessed with such leaders it must needs suffer from growing pains, for it will live under the pressure of the ideals of a prophet, and never be content with the contemplation of things that have been. Following the same line of reason, it can be said that:

GROWING PAINS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR MISSIONARY EXPANSION

The Pittsburgh Synod did not blunder into the position of a missionary synod; it was deliberately forced into it. And once the position was attained, it became our pleasure and pride to maintain it. The fact that there were ministers of seven different synods at work on this territory at the time of organization, January 15, 1845, made it necessary for the founders to state their reasons for adding another. This duty was assigned to the young secretary, whose open letter to the church was published as an appendix to the minutes of the second convention. In this letter he argued that the only effective way to unify the work of the seven synods in western Pennsylvania was to organize the eighth, and he was right; he argued that the provision of an adequate ministry and the establishment of an effective home mission agency, responsible specifically for the development of the local field, was the only possible

way by which the failures of the church in former years could be retrieved, and again he was right; he argued further that only under the spur of home mission effort could the churches be sufficiently developed to make a worthy contribution to the cause of world evangelization, and once more the passing years have demonstrated that he was right.

At the second convention of the synod, held in Shippenville five months after the organization, young Henry Ziegler, fresh from the seminary, was elected as the first missionary superintendent; at the third convention, held in Greensburg in 1846, the enthusiastic pastors adopted the plan that has ever since been known as our missionary constitution, and has furnished the basic principles of our home mission success. When a prophet of God writes a constitution, it is not soon displaced.

On May 1, 1850, Henry Ziegler resigned as missionary superintendent, and William A. Passavant took his place. During the eight years in which he filled the office, the cause of home missions was planted so deep in the heart of the synod that it has never been able to get rid of it; nor does it wish to do so. Painful at times, it is always precious. Dr. Passavant published a newsy little paper called *The Missionary*: and the circulation of this paper throughout the church made hundreds of devoted friends for the mission cause. Well-to-do Lutherans from other synods did not hesitate to place their money for home mission investment in the hands of this second missionary superintendent of the Pittsburgh Synod. Fully a third of the home mission appropriations of the synod during his term of office were made to churches beyond our geographical boundaries. And there were no protests.

Listen to this "out of bounds" record. In 1850, Pastor Casper Braun, of New Castle, was sent to Texas as a missionary, and became the first president of the Texas Synod in 1852. In 1849, an old man named Adam Keffer, travelling from Canada to Somerset County, happened to stay over night at Venango when the Pittsburgh Synod was in session there. His conference with some of the brethren led to the sending of Gottleib Bassler to Ontario during the following summer; and the report of his visitation, published in *The Missionary,* led to the beginning of extensive home

mission work in the province, and that in turn to the organization of the Canada Synod in 1861. In 1873, Pastor J. H. Hunton was sent to Nova Scotia to assist the venerable Carl Ernst Cossman in his work; and the result was the organization of a Nova Scotia Conference, which developed into the Nova Scotia Synod in 1903.

In 1850, Dr. Passavant made his first visit to the Northwest, in order to make a first hand investigation of the growing Lutheran immigration; and the helping hand extended at that time has never been forgotten. The kindly feelings of all the Scandinavian synods toward the United Lutheran Church are in large measure a part of our Passavant heritage. A score of the largest and most influential churches of the West owe their beginnings to the growing pains of the Pittsburgh Synod.

At the present time we are engaged in a similar task, prodded by the same motive, on behalf of the Siebenburger Saxons of America. A marvelous success has attended our efforts. But we want the church to know that we have no more intention of holding these people permanently in the Pittsburgh Synod than our great missionary predecessors had of holding the Texans and Canadians. The urge within us is to do all that we can for our brethren, in the way those brethren want it done, that and nothing more. And mark this prophecy:—On the day when this home mission urge is no longer felt in our midst, our successors will hear the opening notes of the sad requiem of a once great synod.

Finally permit me to state a conviction in reference to our developing confessional standards. As I see it:

GROWING PAINS HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL OUR CONTROVERSIES AND THEIR RECONCILIATION

Three things have marked our growth through the years: expanding numbers, expanding missions, and expanding faith. And growing men have ever been the responsible agents of the great Head of the church in the expansion. If the founders of the synod and their successors had never developed in faith or practice; if they had been content to see the synod lie in the same narrow, confessionless mould in which it was first cast, growing pains would have been an unknown experience, and controversy would

never have marred our record. But who wants such a record? When we fraternize with death we will hold our convention in a graveyard. Whatever the faults of this synod may or may not have been, it is generally admitted that it has always been resiliently alive.

But living things do not always grow at the same rate even when they belong to the same genus. This is true in nature, where the rose buds no not all burst into full bloom on the same day, even on the same bush; and it is true of ministers even when they share the cultural influences of the same synod. When the Pittsburgh Synod reached the Greenville Convention of 1867 some of its ministers had grown so fast, others so slowly, that the difference was permitted to end in schism. Now, who were the leaders of this fast-growing party? It would not be far wrong to name William A. Passavant, Gottlieb Bassler and George A. Wenzel. Who were the leaders of the slow growers? One thing I can assure you in reply: they were not the men who considered themselves such. Their true leaders were John G. Goettman, Samuel B. Barnitz and Samuel F. Breckenridge. Bring these six outstanding leaders down to the year 1930; let each man have his natural development in the fellowship of the United Lutheran Church; and we would not be able to tell from their present confessional position whether they voted aye or nay at Greenville.

But some one will suggest that the minority party, which they led out of the Greenville Convention, did not show any marked Lutheran developments during the period immediately after the rupture. It is granted. They grew more slowly during the twenty-five years from 1867 to 1892 than in any other period of their history; but what every right-thinking man must also grant is that they were still alive. And more than that, they were slowly growing all through those trying years. If they were not, the merger of 1919 was a pious fraud and the speaker of the evening has no proper place at this banquet table.

I do not recall a year of the pre-merger period, 1893-1919, when the minority synod was not growing, numerically, spiritually, confessionally, every way. This growth was so slow at times as to be exceedingly painful, but it was growth. And more than that,

the younger pastors of the old General Synod were proud of every inch added to their Lutheran stature. Let me give you an insight into this confessional development. In 1897, four years after my ordination, the synod adopted a new Constitution. At that time an attempt was made to insert the following doctrinal basis that already had the approval of the general body: "We receive and hold with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Our Fathers, the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, to be the inspired Word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as throughout in perfect consistence with it—nothing more, nothing less." The debate became heated; the yeas and nays were called, and the proposition was defeated by a vote of 34 to 14. But the fourteen from that day began to grow faster than the thirty-four; and there came a day less than ten years later when they dominated the policies of the synod, and by doing so made certain the merger of 1919.

Nor did they make the fatal mistake of believing that the acme of their development was reached in merger; they are still growing men. And we indulge the hope that all who share the fellowship of the synod this day, let their antecedents be what they will, may share her growing life, until the plans and purposes of her Lord, revealed only in part to the fathers, shall have reached their full consummation.

VIRGINIA LUTHERANISM

THE FACTORS ENTERING INTO THE MAKING OF THE HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN VIRGINIA AND EAST TENNESSEE[1]

WILLIAM J. FINCK
New Market, Virginia

Sit at the feet of History—through night
Of years the steps of virtue she shall trace,
And show the earlier ages, where her sight
Can pierce the eternal shadows o'er the face.—Bryant.

Surely the eight ministers and two laymen, who with many friends met in the Lutheran Church of Woodstock on the tenth and eleventh of August, one hundred years ago, were making history worthy of our study. Their fathers before them for another century had been doing the same, and while they did not stop to look into the future either a hundred or two hundred years, it is proper for us who have entered into their labors to pause in our onward course and pay fitting tribute of appreciation to their memory, recount their many enterprises of self-sacrifice and draw from their history the many lessons by which we and our successors can profit in our ministry of the future, for "history is philosophy teaching by examples."

I

What a difference two hundred years have made! Then a small colony east of the Blue Ridge in the tidewater district of our Commonwealth, perhaps numbering eighty individuals; today a membership of possibly twenty thousand. Then, no minister, no church building, no schools, no material assets of any character; today, well supplied with the most commodious and beautiful houses of worship, schools and colleges, and a home for our

1 Historical address delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia, Woodstock, Va., July 24, 1929.

orphans of which we can all be justly proud. Well can we ask, How has all this come about? What magic wand has swept omnipotently over these two centuries, called into existence all these forces and produced these conditions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Virginia that we see about us, whose blessings we enjoy, of whose unity and glory we are so proud? And the answer is, No magic wand has produced these things that we have mentioned, but the Lord himself has given us the true answer in the words of his servant in Psalm 126, verse 3, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." We are celebrating on this festive occasion the wonders that the Lord has performed for us in the history of his church. He is the Maker of History, and the first duty of the historian is to trace the finger of God in the story of his people. And this we shall do before we enumerate the human factors that enter into the making of our history. The divine factor is the first and greatest factor. When we have reverently endeavored to give the Lord his due, we shall be justified in considering the many other forces that have woven the fabric of our history. Therefore we acknowledge our complete indebtedness to the Lord in the words of the Psalmist as found in Psalm 77:13-15; 19-20. And this acknowledgment of the Lord's guidance we make in spite of the fact that we know that human efforts through which he works are limited by many shortcomings and fraught with many failures, for the Lord turns all to the good of man and to the growth of his church among us. Far greater would be his accomplishments if his human agents were more capable and submissive, free from misunderstanding, shortsightedness, selfishness and ambition; but the potency of God's providence overrules these weaknesses, and fruits are harvested for which man deserves little credit. The two centuries of our history in Virginia give us ample proof of the truth of these assertions, and compel us to ascribe to God the glory for whatever we see and enjoy in our church at this centennial and bicentennial celebration.

Likewise, we mention another factor which enters into the making of our history, a factor which is like the one just mentioned in that it is beyond our control. We refer to the element of Time.

It is true that Time is not a power like Divinity, but it is something which the Lord uses in dealing with men as he uses space in the universe. It is the season he gives man for his labors, his prayers, his patience, his trust, as he gives the seed that is sown its season to grow and bear fruit. So Sir Walter Raleigh wrote shortly before his death:

> Even such is Time, that takes on trust
> Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
> And pays us but with age and dust;
> Who in the dark and silent grave,
> When we have wandered all our ways,
> Shuts up the story of our days;
> But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
> My God shall raise me up, I trust.

Time in God's providence is the healer of strifes, the corrector of mistakes, the clarifier of mysteries and misunderstandings, the solver of problems, the revealer of God's holy will, the builder of character, congregations and institutions, and the maker of history. We never know what will come of our deeds; they have not had Time to mature them. The deeds of our fathers have had a century, yea two centuries, to develop under God, in Time, and behold what God hath wrought! Thus we can see what history really is. Its province is to delineate the results of God's will exhibited in Time.

II

Many human factors enter into the producing of these results and it is now our purpose to enumerate some of these human elements that we find prominent in our history. The first we shall mention is our membership. History is a story of people. Too often history is given almost exclusively to the laudation of leaders, as though it were a Napoleon who won the battle, when in fact it was the host of his soldiers implicitly obeying his commands. Too often Church history tells its whole story in the life of its leaders; but true history insists upon an answer to the query, Where are the people?

We shall not make this mistake in this brief paper, but we shall

begin with an effort to make the people live on the stage of these two centuries that we are now commemorating. Few they were to begin with, and no leader for years, yet the seed that was sown has given us a wonderful membership at this time, that makes it worth while to celebrate. And not numbers only, but numbers strengthened with loyalty and love and generosity, that speak for greater things in the future.

In those days when what is now the Commonwealth of Virginia was one vast forest primeval, traversed only by the trails of the unfortunate aborigines, the German pilgrim and pioneer began to arrive, first from the north, then in small numbers from the east across the mountains, then from the southwest and southeast, in ever increasing numbers. Up the Valley, they traveled, and up the valleys, penetrating the country to the southwest, on into eastern Tennessee. How they succeeded to make progress we in our day cannot understand. The men were on foot, women and children on horseback or on crude clumsy wagons, their possessions on pack horses, and thus they traveled day after day, and week after week. Longfellow put these words into the mouth of his pilgrims:

> We have not wings—we cannot soar;
> But we have feet to scale and climb,
> By slow degrees, by more and more,
> The cloudy summits of our time.

Another poet, whose name I do not have, describes their coming in these words:

> From Delaware's and Schuylkill's gleam,
> Away where Susquehanna twines,
> And out on Allegheny's stream,
> In places distant fell their lines;
> By river and by fountain,
> Where'er they touched this strand,
> In wood and vale and mountain
> They found a fatherland.

Amazing is the story of the coming of the Germans to the valleys of Virginia. They had no love for the lands that were low and level, as they were so unlike their home lands; but the hills and forests of the unsettled mountains were their delight. Often they

penetrated too far into the bosom of the mountain-side and occupied lands that were stony and hilly, but they cared not for toil and trouble. No matter how remote the dingles and the valleys, if they only found a glade or could make a clearing, they were ready to put up their cabin and thank God for their home.

Not only Germans formed these early pioneer trains, but the Swiss, attracted by the mountains, and the Dutch from Holland, seeking a home in the New World, arrived to swell their numbers. Often these settlers were so numerous that others coming before them sold out to them and they were able to form German communities that often bore a distinctive name, like German Valley, or Germany. And among these early arrivals, ever increasing, the Lutheran church had a large membership.

These German settlers had certain characteristics. They were lovers of the home. They were not seeking wealth in America; they had not left their homeland for that reason. Neither were they adventurers. They were home seekers, and for the love of the home they were willing to cross the ocean, to brave the dangers of the trackless forest, to endure suffering and to make the greatest sacrifices. They looked forward to better days when they might have a home in the New World. Mr. Means has well spoken:

> O little homes set close on every hand!
> Ye narrow, walled-in worlds of joys and fears,
> Built of the commonplace of smiles and tears,
> Ye are the heart and sinew of our land!

They loved education and the schoolhouse. They brought their primers, catechisms, hymnbooks and Bibles with them and hoped that they might find the teacher and the pastor in the new settlement. If they were compelled to live in forts and stockades for their protection, they hired a teacher to instruct their children. When possible a small log schoolhouse was built that instruction might be given. They had to work hard, and often the children could not be spared when there was work to do; but the love for knowledge, and especially religious knowledge, was there in their

hearts, as the home and the schoolhouse were considered indispensable in their community.

They loved their church, and they were devoted to the name, the teachings and the confessions of their church. This is one of the strongest factors in the making of the history of our Lutheran church. The devotion of our people runs through these two centuries, and without it we should have little history to write of our church in Virginia. It is true that our church has sustained heavy losses in the past, as no doubt all denominations have, but when we come to account for the steady gain in membership, year by year, ending at the present time with twenty thousand, much must be ascribed to the fidelity of our people, who not only remained faithful themselves, but brought their children and won many others for the cross under the banner of their church. With a devoted people History can recount a good story of blessings received and labors performed.

III

We repeat then, that the first human factor in our history is found in our membership. And the second factor is not unlike the first: in our pastors and teachers. After all, the army is not strong without its leader; the school needs a teacher and the congregation a pastor. We have heard: "Thou leddest thy people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron."

As a rule the teachers preceded the ministers. They often prepared the way for the pastor, and much credit must be given to them. Over the spring, summer and fall months they worked in the fields; in winter they taught the children gathered in private homes. They wrote letters for the neighbors, often held services of song and Scripture reading on Sunday, read a simple service at funerals, announced the coming of visiting ministers, made entries in the record books, led the singing at the services, conducted the visiting minister to his next appointment, and thus in many ways aided the people in their educational and religious affairs and kept alive the hope of a better day in the hearts of the isolated inhabitants. Sometimes too these local teachers began to perform the acts belonging to the duties of the pastor and thus without ex-

ternal authority grew into self-appointed and self-licensed preachers and pastors. Others, however, encouraged by those whom they served, sought the proper authority and became good and useful ministers.

The names of a few prominent teachers have been preserved. In 1762, Charles Frederick Wildbahn came from Philadelphia and served as teacher in Winchester. He was a soldier from Germany but had grown tired of the service and was succeeding well as a teacher. He was willing to stay at his post in Winchester but he and his family had to seek protection from the Indians by flight, and he returned to Pennsylvania and became a minister of long-standing usefulness. In the corner stone of the Winchester church has been preserved the name of Antony Ludi as schoolmaster. His name would indicate that he was a Swiss, but nothing further is known of him by the writer. The school teacher Weber of Shenandoah County was able to impart instruction in Latin. Jacob Frank, sent from Philadelphia to the Hebron congregation for a term of three years to serve as teacher and pastor, was an excellent penman and a most beautiful and efficient singer. He delighted the people young and old with his music, gave the congregation the Philadelphia constitution, prepared by the Patriarch Muhlenberg, and endeared himself so deeply in the hearts of the members that they urged his ordination and his permanent residence in their community. But when his term was over he returned to the City of Brotherly Love. All through the Valley of Virginia down into Tennessee are found the names of faithful teachers whose deeds are unrecorded and whose graves are unmarked. If monuments have been reared to the Unknown God and to the Unknown Soldier, surely the Unknown Teacher should not remain

> Without a grave, unknelled, uncoffined, and unknown.

We pass on then to consider the part played by the pastor as a human factor entering into the making of our history. We must consider first those who were reared on Virginia soil. Is it not a satisfaction on this anniversary day to be allowed to record that a decidedly large portion of the force engaged in this vineyard

was home-born and home-reared? A few like Paul Henkel and the Schmuckers, and also George Daniel Flohr, were born outside of the state, and yet educated for the ministry within the home community, and for this reason we shall enumerate them as belonging to the fruits of the home work, as we justly can do. And not only did our own province produce ministers for its own use, but gave of our home production a large number who labored in other states, and in foreign countries. The first Lutheran pastor to settle in the new state of Ohio was a Virginian, William Forster by name, who in 1807 took his large family from Shenandoah County, in the part now Page County, and moved to Ohio. The first Lutheran minister to travel beyond the bounds of southwest Virginia and do missionary work in Tennessee and North Carolia was an adopted son of Virginia, Paul Henkel. Here should be noted the large number of native Virginians, including school teachers and some who later became preachers, who settled in East Tennessee and aided in the establishment of that state, and the development of our church in that part of our territory.

But after all, the largest portion of our Virginia-reared pastors labored in their home communities. We shall name a few of the earlier ordained ministers of this class, following a geographical order, without repeating the names already mentioned. From Powell's Fort came Martin Walther in time to aid in the organization of the Virginia Synod. In Madison County was William Carpenter. In Rockingham County arose John Foltz, and in Augusta County Adolph Spindler; in southwest Virginia Samuel Sayford and Stephen Rhudy; in Tennessee, Abel J. Brown and Francis M. Harr. In later years the number became very large, beginning with John Philip Cline of Shenandoah County and Joseph A. Snyder of Augusta County. Let us add a few more worthy names: William S. Bowman, John B. Davis, George Schmucker, Ambrose Henkel, John J. Greever, James Andrew Brown, Levi Keller, Amos Copenhaver, James M. Schreckheis, T. W. L. Dosh, George W. Holland, Alexander Philippi, L. L. Smith, L. G. M. Miller, Asa Richard and hosts of others of our generation.

To these names of ministers reared in our own state, let us add the names of some of the pastors and missionaries sent in from the north. These were sent by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania beginning with the year 1762, and in many instances were missionary visitors sent to relieve the people in our Valley of their spiritual distress and destitution. Of this character were the following: Charles Frederick Wildbahn already mentioned as a teacher. After his ordination he made many visits to Virginia as though he could not forget the land of his first labors in America. The old bachelor of the Lutheran church, free to wander from the northern extremities of New York to the distant South, made a number of visits to the Lutherans of Virginia, going as far south as Woodstock, if not farther. His name was John Christopher Hartwig, the founder of Hartwick Seminary in New York State. Henry Möller, a chaplain in the Revolutionary Army, spent many days in our Valley ministering to our people at many points. We must mention a few of the many sent by the Ministerium as permanent pastors and missionaries. John Schwarbach and Jacob Frank were sent to the Hebron church. Peter Muhlenberg comes to mind, but his coming is only partly due to the Ministerium, and yet not altogether without the approval of his father, the Patriarch of the Lutheran church and the Senior of the Ministerium. Christian Streit is the most significant example of this class and must be mentioned here, as the one giving twenty-seven years of unselfish service to our field, and leading in the organization of the first ecclesiastical body formed in Virginia and the South, the third in America. He was followed by John David Young, pastor at Martinsburg; John George Butler, of Botetourt County and beyond; George Henry Remenschneider, Abraham Reck, Michael Meyerhoffer, Charles Philip Krauth, and others of those early days, to which list we must rightly add the names of our own sons who were repeatedly licensed and then ordained for work in different parts of Virginia, names that have been mentioned, Henkel, Carpenter, Walther, Foltz, Spindler, Flohr, John Nicholas Schmucker, and a host of others.

The value and significance in the history of our Lutheran

church in Virginia and East Tennessee of the services of the men sent by the unselfish, missionary-spirited Ministerium of Pennsylvania can not be overestimated, and in the name of all loyal Lutherans of Virginia I request you, the honored representative of this noble body, to assure the members of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania that at this time, on this festal anniversary occasion, grateful mention was made within the hearing of your own ears of the care and love, of the concern and labors made by the fathers of the Mother Synod that the pilgrims and pioneers of the distant field of Virginia and Tennessee might be provided with the bread of heaven and the water of everlasting life. Return to your native state, the Keystone State of the Union, and to the Synod that ordained you and me and many others among us, and report that their loving care for the Lutheran settlers in Virginia shall never be forgotten; and should men forget, the records in our archives shall preserve the knowledge of their deeds and perpetuate these expressions of the gratitude of those who at this time are reaping the benefits of the labors of those whom they sent.

Help in the person of ministers came also from the South. The Synod and Ministerium of North Carolina was formed in 1803. Its organizer and main supporter for the first years of its existence was the adopted son of Virginia, Paul Henkel, and his sole aim in organizing this synod was to preserve the work of Lutheranism in his native state in the days of many troubles within and without the church; but the Synod of North Carolina in turn came to be the Mother Synod of the South and sent her sons in every direction to save the church, especially to southwest Virginia and eastern Tennessee, and it is due to the foresight and self-sacrificing labors of her members that mention be made of the part played by this synod in the development of the Commonwealth of Virginia and the Lutheran church. We do not know how much was done for Virginia by ministers living in North Carolina before the organization of the Mother Synod, but we do know that ministrations were performed for the people of that state, of which we have no record, or the names of the officiating ministers are lacking. We suspect, and rightly so, that from earliest times

ministers came over the mountains from North Carolina and baptized, confirmed, preached and administered the communion in the counties of southwest Virginia and eastern Tennessee. We venture therefore to say that in all probability Adolph Nussman, John Gottfried Arends and Charles A. G. Storch, were among the ministers that served our people in the days before 1803, and with certainty we can mention the following names: Robert Johnson Miller, who several times came as far north as Winchester; Philip Henkel, Jacob Scherer, Daniel Scherer, John Peter Schmucker, Elijah Hawkins, Gideon Scherer, and others. It is probably fair to say that until the time of the forming of the Southwest Virginia Synod in 1842, this territory in the state of Virginia was missionary ground of the North Carolina Synod, and well did she cultivate the field. If the North Carolina Synod had done nothing more than to give us the Scherers, five in number, and license and ordain our early ministers, she would deserve the undying appreciation of all of us who this day are celebrating the centennial and bicentennial of Lutheranism in Virginia. We therefore ask you, Dr. Morgan, the president and representative of the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina, upon your return to your home state and to your synod, that you will give your fellow members the assurance that we in Virginia feel deeply indebted to the members of the Mother Synod of the South for the earnest and abundant labors performed in those early days in our state, and that we shall keep a perpetual record of the deeds performed which enable us at this time to rejoice over the works the Lord has done in the midst of us through his willing and untiring servants. May peace, harmony and prosperity abide with the Mother and her children as they labor side by side for the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ.

With the year 1820 two synods were organized and both made substantial contributions in human forces to the Lutheran church in Virginia and Tennessee. First by four months comes the Tennessee Synod, far away from the Valley of Virginia and yet from the start touching the very heart of Lutheranism in our state. Paul Henkel again appears as an outstanding member of this new body, followed in a few years by his son, Ambrose, and

soon afterwards by Jacob Stirewalt, and then by Jacob Killian, Socrates Henkel, James E. Seneker, Irenaeus Conder, Henry Wetzel, George Schmucker, and Luther A. Fox. Then through the Maryland Synod, directly and indirectly, by their influence as well as by their direction, a number of men that made distinguished contributions to Lutheranism in America came to our territory, labored in our borders, and then turned their faces northward again, never to be forgotten by those among whom they labored while in our state. Among these are the following: Charles Porterfield Krauth, Joseph A. Seiss, Beale M. Schmucker, David F. Bittle, Daniel J. Hauer, Lewis Eichelberger, Anders Rudolph Rude, and others. One name, independent of the given groups, must be added here as a builder of the church in Virginia and in the South, that is the honored name of Dr. David M. Gilbert, who delivered the historical address both at the fiftieth and at the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Virginia Synod. In the same way must be mentioned the name of Dr. George H. Cox for his efficient services in Tennessee, as teacher, pastor and historian.

To actualize the fulness of this ministerial strength, we must endeavor to draw all these laborers together into one picture, the background of which is formed by our own home-reared teachers, pastors and educators. If you see it aright it will be a moving picture alive with many earnest actors, never too many, but ever increasing in numbers, laboring side by side and grouped in their synodical bodies. The units of these actors were increased and harmonized as the theological seminaries in our land began to aid in the training of the ministry: Gettysburg in 1826, the Southern Seminary in 1834, Philadelphia in 1864, and Chicago in 1891. At the same time our private seminaries in the Lutheran parsonages continued, even after the time of the Civil War, to aid many a young man to usefulness in the service of the church. Now let us combine the workers in this picture and we shall have no doubt of the strength and the significance of this factor that enters so largely into the making of our history.

IV

There remains a spiritual factor yet to consider, that of the

loyalty of pastors and people to the truth of the Holy Scriptures, and the faith as expressed in the creeds and the confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran church. This loyalty was a part of the spiritual equipment given the missionaries and pastors by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in its early days. When Paul Henkel was licensed in 1783 he was required to sign a solemn declaration containing seven conditions, the first of which was expressed in these words: "To preach the Word of God in its purity, according to Law and Gospel, as it is explained in its chief points in the Augsburg Confession and the other Symbolical Books." Christian Streit and William Carpenter were licensed and ordained on the same conditions. When Jacob Frank gave the Hebron congregation a constitution in 1776, he inserted in the first article, the following statement: "The present regularly called teacher, and his regularly called successors, are to preach the Word of God at the appointed time on Sundays and festival days, at funerals and other solemnities, according to the foundation of the apostles and prophets and the unaltered Augsburg Confession, publicly, purely, briefly, plainly, thoroughly, and to edification."

This loyalty to the confessions of the church was strengthened when the Special Conferences began to emphasize the importance of the true faith, and in 1805, as an appendix to the minutes printed the doctrinal part of the Augsburg Confession, consisting of the first twenty-one articles. This was followed in 1820 by the printing of the whole Confession in twenty-eight articles by the Tennessee Synod as an appendix to the minutes of their first meeting. The Henkel Publication House at New Market, beginning with 1806, never ceased to pour forth pamphlet after pamphlet stressing the much loved doctrines of the Lutheran church. When the Virginia Synod was organized in 1829, this loyalty found expression in this noble statement: "*Resolved,* That the basis of the Constitution of this body be the Holy Scriptures, the Divinity of Christ as taught therein, and the unaltered Augsburg Confession." Though this declaration was never incorporated in the synodical constitution, it is evident that it was a life-principle with many of its members. But there in the hearts of many pastors and many

people it lived, and when in 1855 the distracting discussion arose over the Definite Platform, the Virginia Synod found no trouble in taking proper action. At its twenty-sixth convention, held in Zion Church, Augusta County, Virginia, at its Monday morning session, October 9, 1855, the "following preamble and resolutions were presented and adopted:"

Whereas a certain *anonymous* Document under the title of a *Definite Synodical Platform,* has made its appearance in the Churches, and has been generally distributed among our clergy—and whereas we are not certain, whether a friend or an enemy hath done this—and whereas in the estimation of this Synod the thing itself is uncalled for and calculated to create divisions and contentions, and moreover is an unwarrantable interference with the established doctrinal basis of our Church, and is an attempt at arrogant and impudent dictation on the part of its unknown author or authors.—Therefore,

I. *Resolved,* That we as a Synod, hereby set our seal of condemnation on this as well as on all other efforts of dictation of a similar character, and warn all our Sister Synods against the adoption of this strange document.

II. *Resolved,* That we regret exceedingly the action of our Brethren of the Wittemberg Synod, in adopting this strange document, and solicit them most affectionately to reconsider said action.

III. *Resolved,* That this preamble and resolutions be sent by the Secretary to the papers of the Church for publication. (*Minutes of Virginia Synod for 1850,* p. 15).

The discussions aroused by the Definite Platform, the publication of the Symbolical Books in two large editions in the English language, the unwearying efforts of the conservative men on the field, increased the hearty allegiance of the church to the Confessions. In 1860, in adopting a new constitution, the Tennessee Synod proposed the adoption of the threefold doctrinal basis of union, the Holy Scriptures, the three Ecumenical Creeds and the six Symbolical Books. This forward step included the Holston Synod in East Tennessee, and the Virginia Conference of the Tennessee Synod in Virginia.

This spirit of loyalty spread among the congregations and synods in the South, so that by 1886 it was possible to form the *United* Synod in the South, and by 1918 the *United* Lutheran Church in America, all on the threefold basis of union. This same loyalty brought our synods in Virginia together into the Lutheran

Synod of Virginia, and paved the way a few years later for receiving into its union all members of the Tennessee Synod living in Virginia. We conclude therefore that the loyalty of our members has formed another factor without which it would be impossible to celebrate the anniversary of a united Lutheranism in Virginia and East Tennessee.

THE PLACE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN BIBLICAL INSPIRATION

J. HUEBNER
Lincoln, Nebraska

THAT the Holy Spirit has a place in the production of the Bible is no longer taken for granted as it was in days gone by. To many it is a question whether the Scriptures have come into being through immediate Divine co-operation or whether they are a purely human creation of religious men; whether they are not in the same category with the other sacred books of the world, differing from them in degree but not in kind. Are we right in holding to the formal principle of the Reformation that the Bible is *norma normans* and as such the infallible authority in matters of faith and life? Are we justified in acknowledging any authority in religion beyond the authority of what is called Christian Consciousness? Even to Christian theologians it is not, to use the words of C. H. Dodd, "anymore a question whether at least parts of the Bible were inspired, but whether the writings of the New Testament, let us say, have a specific authority going beyond their general and intrinsic authority as religious classics."

In the Roman and Reformed churches the doctrine on Canon and Inspiration is dogmatically fixed. Lutheranism has, strictly speaking, no dogma on the subject, although it has from the beginning recognized the Bible as God's Word, unique in origin and character. Unlike Calvin, Luther made his theology as occasion arose. The divine inspiration of Holy Writ was not among the articles of faith that were disputed in his day. The mechanical theory as taught by the dogmaticians of the seventeenth century came to Wittenberg by way of Geneva; it is not part and parcel of the genius of Lutheranism. One might see today the guidance of the Spirit in the fact that our fathers did not commit the church of the Reformation to a certain theory of inspiration, for without that greater apprehension of the truth that came in later ages as the

fruit of biblical scholarship, they might in their day have claimed either too much or too little for the Bible.

Whether twentieth century Lutheranism will be in a position to do what was not done in the past, to make an all around satisfactory and scriptural statement on this subject, remains to be seen. The Lutheran World Convention, it seems to us, should sooner or later express the mind of the church on the question of the place of the Holy Spirit in the creation of the Sacred Scriptures. As an act of the church it should be an act of confession; as a confesssion it should be an answer to God's Word; if it is to be a Lutheran answer, it must be the answer of a Christocentric faith.

The answer to this question will probably be conditioned by two factors. The first is that of the approach: Shall the approach be theocentric, anthropocentric of Christocentric? The second is that of method: Shall the study be conducted along the lines of a priori conceptions, shall these be ruled out altogether, and shall, or can, inspiration be known by what inspiration does? It will involve a statement concerning the inspiring subject, whether it be the third person of the Trinity, whether Holy Spirit signifies the continued invisible presence of Christ, or whether the Holy Spirit is just the "Gemeindegeist," a pious community spirit; finally, whether inspiration is in a category by itself, or whether it is merely a higher degree of Christian illumination, sacramental rather than charismatic.

It is well to recognize at the outset that we believe in God before we believe in the Bible. Some of us remember distinctly that we believed in God before we knew there was a Bible. The character of our faith or theology which we bring along to the Bible will have a bearing on what we find in it. If we follow Luther and think of God as Holy Love revealed in Christ, we shall incline toward one conception of inspiration; if like Calvin, we think of God primarily in terms of Will we shall arrive at another. Calvin's theology was theocentric rather than Christocentric, and therefore it is not surprising that Calvinism revived the mechanical theory, teaching in the Formula Consensus Helvetica that even the Hebrew vowel signs are inspired as the words themselves. This view of

inspiration was first adopted by Justin Martyr, who considers that the mind of the prophet resembled a plectrum, the instrument giving out particular sounds according to the chord that is struck.

This view, which makes the sacred writers mere amanuenses, is still adhered to by some, even within the Lutheran church, who stress the literal inerrancy of the Bible in all particulars. Not without justification, Bowne calls it a heathen theory and traces it back to Plato who in *Phaedrus* gives an account of four forms of madness. They are: prophecy, inspiration, poetry and love. This theory is monophysitic; it overemphasizes the Divine element at the expense of the human. It is disproved by several facts. Of the 275 quotations from the Old Testament in the New, there are 99 in which the quotation differs from both the Hebrew and the Septuagint. There are 37 in which the faulty rendering of the Septuagint has been accepted by the New Testament writer. Those who record our Lord's sayings differ, even in the Lord's Prayer. The matter of discrepancies will be touched on later. To claim literal inerrancy for the autographs of the Bible does not remove the difficulty; for if such a book had been intended in the first place, the Holy Spirit would have prevented the mistakes of the copyists. But practically at no time in its history has the church possessed a text which in all particulars agreed with the autographs. In the different sections of the ancient church there were at least three types of text, called the Neutral, Alexandrian and Western, to which was added the Syrian which is found in the late Greek manuscripts, the later versions and the late Greek Fathers. It is evident that the theocentric approach would lead us to claim more for the Bible than the Bible claims for itself. It practically ignores the human side of the Word and is alien to the spirit of Lutheranism.

One extreme calls forth another. The anthropocentric theology of the last century set forth quite logically humanistic theories of inspiration. Our age, intoxicated as it is with psychology, evolution and natural science, has produced a type of *Religionswissenschaft* which would eliminate the mysterious and superhuman from religion. It sees in religion merely a product of the mind,

stressing that which is subjective and ignoring, when not denying the objective. The psychology of religion is to explain all religious phenomena. Revelation is defined as a heightened spiritual consciousness which gives birth to insight, but it is not an imparting of information from without: so Galloway in his *Philosophy of Religion.* According to such reasoning, revelation, be it ever so special, "is not knowledge communicated by God, which man could not otherwise possess." There is really nothing supernatural about revelation. "If man seeks God," says Galloway, "God in his turn directs man to the fulfilment of his spiritual destiny. God guiding religious development from within through the revealing experiences of his servants, this is special revelation." There is no longer a "Thus saith the Lord." God may be personal, but he cannot speak. Man is not the recipient of Divine truth, not even a discoverer but really an inventor. Man's efforts are generative and Divine truth is in a way the product of man. Consequently, says C. H. Dodd in his book, *Authority of the Bible,* "Not God is the author of the epistle to the Romans, though in a transferred sense we may describe the Epistle to the Romans as a 'Word of God' meaning that in some way it mediates to the reader the truth which is the thought of God. God is the author not of the Bible, but of the life in which the authors of the Bible partake and of which they tell in such imperfect human words as they could command. Thus the words of the Epistle to the Romans carry just as much weight as we are prepared to allow to Paul as a religious teacher." So, then, we are the ones who determine, whether, when and how far God speaks through the sacred writers. Again the same author says: "The only religious authority we find in the Bible is the authority of experts in the knowledge of God, masters in the art of living; the authority of religious genius. In the Bible we must acknowledge the authority which belongs intrinsically to genius." But what is meant by "genius"? According to the dictionary it is a man endowed with extraordinary mental superiority, uncommon native intellectual power, or the power of invention or origination of any kind. Milton, Shakespeare, Schiller and Goethe were geniuses. Are they in the same category with Isaiah, St. John and St. Paul? Could any Lutheran really follow C. H. Dodd in what

he says on page 229: "If his (St. John's) contemporaries, in the scribal rather than in the prophetic tradition, attempted to fix in 'a form of sound words' the 'faith delivered once to the Saints,' we must judge of their attempt as the New Testament in general judges of the traditions of the Elders"?

No, there must be a more excellent way to ascertain the place of the Holy Spirit in inspiration. Plato already recognized that ἀρετή, excellency, is found midways between two extremes. There remains then the Christocentric approach which will answer the dictum, *Finitum non est capax infiniti,* with Luther: *Natura humana est capax divinae,* applying it to God's Word in the Bible as he applied it to the Word Incarnate. What did Luther teach on the subject? He held to an inspiration which was peculiar to the Scriptures alone, but not in a mechanical sense. He recognized human individuality and human co-operation. Even in what he calls "die rechten gewissen Hauptbuecher" he does not attribute all utterances equally to higher revelation. His touchstone was, "ob sie Christum treiben." While he would not acknowlelge in them an error or contradiction in the presentation of saving truth, discrepancies touching historical events give him very little concern. He does not hesitate to acknowledge errors. Such a one he ascribes to Stephen who had been declared a man full of the Holy Ghost. According to Stephen in Acts 7:2, Abraham was called before coming to Haran; according to Moses, after his arrival in that place. Luther does not seek to escape the difficulty by assuming a double call, but he acknowledges an error on the part of Stephen. He finds another error in the 14th verse, in which Stephen mentions seventy-five souls, following the Septuagint, instead of the seventy of the Hebrew text.

Too much has, however, been inferred from Luther's freedom in judging the Scriptures. The modernistic critic cannot legitimately claim to do only what Luther did. Luther never placed even the best of human books in the same category with the Bible, which to him is "alone the fount of wisdom." The Bible interprets the Bible. The whole of it should examine the parts. The twenty-three certain books he used to examine the less certain. He dis-

tinguished between human recognition of the Scriptures and Divine faith in them, faith divinely wrought in their chief content, and said: "The Holy Ghost writes such conviction upon the hearts of men, not only that faith originates by means of the Scriptures but also faith in the Scriptures."

I wonder if this last point is always sufficiently emphasized by theological teachers, especially when dealing with students who battle with doubts on intellectual grounds; that the Holy Ghost is needed to recognize the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures, that he is to be had by prayer, and that the trouble men have with the Bible is not in the Bible, but in themselves. According to Luther the witness of the Spirit is needed for recognition of the validity of God's Word.

And now permit me to point out a few lines along which the doctrine of Inspiration might be restated:

1. The starting point should be that of Luther rather than that of the Old Dogmaticians; neither is it to be sought in the Psychology of Religion.

2. Human reason, whether theoretical or practical cannot be made the criterion for that which is to be believed within the sphere of Divine revelation. The Bible is its own supreme judge, man is at best judex inferior, and that only when enlightened by the Holy Ghost.

3. The subject in inspiration is the third person of the Trinity, the ἄλλος παράκλητος of John 14, 16 as bearer and mediator of the truth which Jesus embodied in his person and in his revealing, saving work. Christ is one, the Holy Spirit is the other advocate who will guide the disciples into all truth; he will bring Christ's teachings home to their recollection; he will continually abide at their side and dwell with them as a source of inspiration. The Holy Spirit is therefore not just a name for Jesus' invisible presence, but he is another, ἄλλος. Christ and He are personally different. The application of the personal pronoun ἐκεῖνος in the masculine gender, the ascription of personal characteristics and activities, demand the acceptance of personality for the Holy Ghost. And John does not stand alone. He does not just represent a late

development of the doctrine of the Spirit. Paul, in spite of Romans 8:9, conceives of him as a person. "Grieve not the Holy Spirit," he warns in Ephesians. Peter charges Ananias with having lied to the Holy Spirit. Jesus in his declaration concerning the unpardonable sin distinguishes clearly between himself and the Holy Ghost. If in the Synoptic Gospels the Twelve are portrayed as not yet comprehending with their pre-pentecostal mentality the personality of the Holy Ghost, we should see in this circumstance only an evidence of the historic trustworthiness of the records, not, however, a late post-apostolic development of the doctrine of the Spirit.

4. Inspiration is more than merely a higher degree of illumination. The purpose of Biblical Inspiration is to record revelation; the purpose of illumination is to approriate the saving truth contained in the inspired record. Inspiration ceased when the record of revelation was complete; illumination goes on. Through inspiration new truth is recorded; through illumination we grow in the apprehension of that Truth which is embodied in Jesus Christ. We do not now discover new truth, but we have the promise of making new discoveries in the truth; we are constantly exploring God and rethinking him on the lines of Jesus Christ, and for the next few thousand years we shall be kept busy learning to know Christ better. Paul was inspired, but Luther was highly enlightened and so he became the first man to understand Paul. Inspiration is charismatic; illumination is sacramental. Inspiration is immediately theopneustic; illumination mediately. To push back inspiration to "Prophetic Consciousness," as a very recent writer does, is merely evading the issue. For the question would still be, How did "Prophetic Consciousness" originate? When the same writer gives the answer: "We can only say that it was because sympathy with their people's needs and capacities brought spiritual insight, and faith in the God of Israel gave assurance in the declaration and application of that insight," when furthermore, in explanation Emerson is quoted: "To believe your own thought, to believe what is true in your private heart is true for all men—that is genius," and then when the conclusion is reached: "It was the genius of Israel's prophets and they became prophets because they

dared to believe that it was also true for God," we disagree on several grounds, but mention only one: At least Jesus Christ in whom the fullness of the Godhead dwelled bodily-wise has spoken to men and not only in men. Both revelation and inspiration originate in God, not in man. They are objective before they become subjective.

5. Can inspiration be defined? Yes and no. The fact can be established but not the mode. Like electricity it is known by its manifestations, effects and results. The mode is so much a mystery of Divine creative activity as the creation of the visible world; it is as mysterious as the incarnation of the eternal Logos. Without the Incarnation Christ cannot be explained, neither can the Scriptures be explained without inspiration. The definitions of inspiration are so numerous that we shall not offer another one. We can say better what it is not than what it is. It does not lift a man out of his limitations; it does not teach Hebrews to speak Greek as native Greeks would speak it; it does not influence intellectually as much as spiritually; it uses man as he is for the fulfilment of a Divine purpose; it will not enlighten him concerning historical or scientific facts, but it will enlighten him to form value judgments concerning them that he would not have formed without it. Its purpose is to do what the church could not do without. There were inspired men in the founding period of the church who probably never wrote a single word, but here we consider Biblical Inspiration. Its purpose was to record what the church needed for later ages. Its purpose, therefore, is the purpose of the Bible: to exhibit Christ. "Search the Scriptures; they are they which testify of me." Every Scripture is God-breathed. Θεόπνευστος in II Tim. 3:16 must be taken in the passive voice, but because it is God-breathed it is also God-breathing, a means of Grace, not merely a signpost telling you where to go and how, but a vehicle taking you there. Just as the proof of the Gospel is not logical, but dynamic, so is the proof of inspiration, so is inspiration itself.

Is it verbal? Yes, for a man thinks in words. In dynamic inspiration the Spirit concurs with the writer in thought formation. Verbal inspiration in the sense that the Word is inspired but not necessarily the words is taught by Philippi in his *Glaubenslehre*.

He makes the distinction between *Wortinspiration* and *Wörterinspiration* explaining it in the following way: "The inspired writer originated a sequence of ideas that as a whole was inspired dynamically both in thought and language. But the words, taken one by one, were not separately suggested."

6. The Bible is unique. Since the Holy Ghost is the Sanctifier whose office it is to appropriate the Christ-wrought redemption to individuals, it follows that Heb. 1:1 and Rom. 3:2 are to be understood in the sense that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain the record of the only revelation unto salvation. God has left himself nowhere without witness: the witness in nature, conscience and history; but to say that there was Holy Spirit also in Gautama, Socrates and others, that the sacred writings of the East are in the same class with the Bible, differing from them only in degree, is to err gravely. These other writings testify of human aspirations but not of Divine inspiration. This is pointed out by one of the contributors in *What is Lutheranism?* who quotes Thomas Arnold and Max Mueller: "In them man seeks God, in the Bible God seeks man." "All the other sacred books say that salvation must be bought for a price and that price must be our own works. According to our own holy book from the East, the ransom is furnished by God in Jesus Christ who came to save sinners." The difference is so fundamental that the Holy Ghost cannot be considered as having any share in the composition of these so-called sacred books. The Holy Spirit cannot in some place teach salvation by works and in another salvation by grace. There is only one revelation unto salvation. It prepared for and culminated in Christ, the Word Incarnate. Its record is the Bible. What is it? The Bible is the Word of God, not because it is literally inspired, nor because it only contains the Word of God, but because it is the God-breathed and God-breathing record of the only Divine Revelation unto Salvation centering and culminating in Christ; self-authenticating, self-interpreting, the sole norm of Christian Faith and Life.

A STUDY OF THE PILGRIM PSALMS

W. R. SIEGART
Ramsey, New Jersey

THE Psalms are poems, but it is difficult for us to translate them into our poetical forms and retain the original sense or beauty. Hebrew poetry had no rhyme, except such as came by accident. Its metre was undoubtedly based on accent, but the correct pronunciation of the ancient Hebrew has been lost and with it has gone the fuller understanding of Hebrew poetical metre.

Hebrew poetry contains a peculiar characteristic, first enunciated in modern times by Lowth, and called by him "parallelism." Lowth's lectures appeared in 1753, the same year as Astruc's "conjectures." He named three kinds of parallelism: synthetic, synonymous and antithetic. Lowth's original three have been amplified by many more.

There are three other characteristics of Hebrew poetry: the line or stichos, which is supposed to be capable of pronunciation in a single breath; the verse, usually of two lines; and the strophe, consisting of any number of lines and marked by a close of thought.

Many of the Psalms are very ancient and their use in religious worship dates from early times. Much of their value lies in the fact that they breathe universal religious longings and feelings. It is perhaps for this reason that the Psalter has often been called "The Little Bible." The fifteen short Pilgrim Psalms have long been the most admired of all the Psalms. Luther is said to have called them "the Bible within the Bible." They are usually called the "Songs of Degrees" or the "Songs of Ascents." But for the title there is no agreement among the Hebrew, Greek, Syriac or Latin versions. Debates regarding the origin of these Psalms have continued for generations, but the modern school of German and English scholars appears to have come to the agreement that, as a whole, they are folk songs. Collected and arranged at a later date they found their use during the journeys to the feasts and on cer-

tain festive occasions, such as the water-drawing ceremony during the feast of the tabernacles.

Many of these Psalms contain marked Babylonianisms, sometimes showing exilic influence, and because of this some phrases are mistranslated in the English versions, being translated according to the rules of Hebrew syntax. On the face of it this influence was said to be a positive proof of a post-exilic date. But folk literature is carried by a people wherever they live and it is natural for children to corrupt folk songs by the idioms of the country in which they dwell. Any one familiar with Jewish life and literature knows this to be true, as the Jews are followed from country to country. Late influences in the grammar and syntax may simply be evidence of the date when the piece of literature was permanently set to writing.

Some of the Psalms also contain local references which would tend to indicate their use on the pilgrimage from Babylon to Jerusalem to attend the great festivals, thus indicating a composition for a special use. From the first chapter of Nehemiah it is learned that these pilgrimages had become a religious practice of the captivity as early as the middle of the fifth century B. C.

Most of the Pilgrim Psalms, as stated above, are marked by Aramaisms. This is a two-edged sword, because it can be used as an argument for both a pre- and a post-exilic date of composition. It is reasonably certain that the original Hebrew settlers of Canaan spoke the Aramaic dialect, which they later exchanged as time went on for an Amorite dialect. But Aramean invaders continued to press from the north, naturally bringing their language with them. Some time during the eighth century B. C., Aramaic became the language of international intercourse (2 Kings 18:26). Assyrian and Babylonian tablets show that at about the same time, or shortly afterward, Aramaic became the common language of commercial intercourse. "By the middle of the fifth century it had become the lingua franca of all hither Asia, and soon thereafter it displaced Hebrew as the spoken language of the Jews. Naturally its influence was greatest on Jews living without Judea, and on the common people as over against the literati." Aramaisms, simply as such, might therefore be used to

support both an early and a late date, because it might be said that they were composed under Babylonian influences and thus be late, or grew as folk songs, uninfluenced by the literati.

Peters, quoted above, also says, "This latter suggestion (that of folk songs) is further supported by the tendency to resolve forms, to substitute a preposition with a noun for the direct object, a particle with an auxiliary for the simple perfect, etc., such as we find in French as over against Latin, English as over against Anglo-Saxon, a sort of change in language which regularly begins from below and is consummated first in the folk speech. Further, these songs are curiously naive in their method of expression, and simple and homely in their figures. They use, moreover, a metre unlike the conventional Psalm metres used elsewhere, marking them off from all other collections of Psalms." In general this is true of Psalms 120-131. These Psalms are chiefly folk songs, and while some authorities think they were composed for the pilgrimages, internal evidence tends to show that some of them were appropriated from earlier days to this use.

But Psalms 132-134 show a temple influence and Psalm 132 has the conventional psalm metre. It is perhaps true that the addition of these Psalms to the collection shows their adaptation by the Levitical guild of singers to temple use. The Book of Chronicles, completed about the end of the fourth century B. C., would set the date of the final collection at least by the middle of that century.

Psalm 120 shows marked Babylonianisms, i. e., idioms in common use in Babylonia. It is chiefly for this reason that the seventh verse presents difficulties of translation. Perhaps Gunkel is right when he suggests that it should be translated, "When I spoke peace, they were for battle." It probably refers to the familiar greeting of the Hebrew, returned by gestures of enmity. The theme of the Psalm is that of resignation to the intolerable oppression of foreign rule. It breathes throughout of the captivity and tells the story of a poet far from his native land.

The names Meshech and Kedar occur in the third strophe. The first is probably the Mochi of Herodotus, who have been iden-

tified as a barbarous tribe of the Caucasus region, and perhaps represent nomads of the north country. The Kedars were a black desert horde to the south, identified by Gunkel as people from the northern part of the Syria-Arabian desert. This is a Psalm of the returning exiles, facing the perils of an eastern journey (Ez. 8:21-23).

The first two verses make up the first strophe, which indicates a trust in Jahveh and a prayer for deliverance from slander. Peters says that verse one is a free citation from the Davidic Psalm 18:6 and that verse four, the answer to the appeal, is likewise derived from Psalm 18. Perhaps this is simply the spontaneous utterance of familiar phraseology.

The second strophe, verses three and four, indicates the doom of the slanderous tongue. It is to be destroyed by sharp arrows and coals of fire. The Hebrew word indicates the broom plant, the coals of which retain their heat for a long time and were used by smiths; hence the slander is to be completely destroyed. Have we here slander upon the God of Israel for permitting his people to be taken captive? The third and final strophe is a passionate appeal for early restoration and peace. When he gives the familiar greeting, "Peace be unto you," it is not returned in kind.

Psalm 121 has a characteristic word, "keep." The title suggested by Peters is both suggestive and appropriate, "The Lord Thy Keeper." The Psalm is not marked by any strong divisions but falls naturally into pairs of strophoi. It appears to be an ancient folk song appropriated for pilgrimage use. The relief of the pilgrim at seeing the Jerusalem hills would be great; but the Psalm does not mention Jerusalem. On the other hand we know the early association of high places with worship in Israel. The Psalm is full of allusions to the countryside. Verse two is familiar Psalm phraseology. It is undoubtedly an ancient folk song, enlarged as folk songs often are, and appropriated to a specific use.

Journeys in the east were dangerous and the protection of Jahveh was much needed. It is easy to see how this Psalm became the song of the traveller, par excellence. As Cox well says, "It is not difficult to see how appropriate, how welcome such a song

would be to the pilgrim who had left his home in the sole care of Heaven, and who was travelling, exposed to the perils of an eastern journey in ancient times, to the distant Sanctuary of Zion. He of all men would rejoice in God as the 'keeper' of men."

Psalm 122 raises a question of authorship because it is generally, in our English texts, ascribed to David. The principal objection against this is the use of the historical tenses in the second strophe, giving a pure retrospect. David would hardly speak of generations of Hebrews going to Jerusalem to worship when it was he who conquered the city. Nor would David be likely to refer to "the throne of the House of David." The Psalm contains apparent Aramaic expressions and idioms; but of themselves they can hardly be considered as evidence for a date. It is a hymn in praise of the Holy City. And Jerusalem was not fixed as the center of Hebrew worship until a late date, but even this would not be proof against the possibility of Jerusalem being early enshrined in the hearts of the people.

The chief evidence, therefore, in support of a post-exilic date is the retrospect of the Psalm and a certain amount of local color indicating its use on the pilgrimages. It was perhaps sung by the pilgrims as they went through the streets of the city. Gunkel says it was sung in chorus. It forms the third of a sequence, of which Psalms 120 and 121 are the other two.

The first three verses make up the first strophe. Here the Psalmist expresses the joy which was his when his neighbors invited him to join their caravan to Jerusalem. He describes the arrival in the city and how he was impressed with its stateliness, its grandeur and its compactness; and how they were lost in wonder and awe. Should not the verb in verse three be rendered "built again"? It would then read, "Jerusalem, thou art rebuilded."

Verses four and five make up the second strophe and here the Psalmist goes beyond the bounds of his own experience and draws upon the history of the race for new themes in praise of the city, making this a patriotic strophe.

In the final strophe the Psalmist shows himself a man of religion as well as a patriot. The religion of Israel was inseparably

connected with their history as a people. This is a prayer for the peace of Jerusalem. If Jerusalem had peace, the entire nation would be at peace. In this final strophe there is a fine play on words in the original; the Psalmist wishing "shalom" and "shalvah" on "Jerusalem." The author holds that "all Israel should exist for Jerusalem, and all Jerusalem for the temple, since the temple is the house and palace of the Most High."

Psalm 123 is a perfect gem, being a unit as it stands. Alstead calls it "Oculus Sperans—The Eye of Hope," and no better interpretation of the theme can be suggested. As to date, many have suggested that it is a cry of the Jews in captivity; others that it is the cry of the returned Jews who were looked down upon by their neighbors. There are many eras of Jewish history into which this Psalm would fit, and an assignment of date because of historical evidence is treacherous. In general it speaks a familiar Psalm language. Some Aramaisms are apparent, but the idiom of Babylonia is not sufficiently pronounced to place it with certainty during the exile. It appears to be one of those songs which springs from the heart of a people without reference to a date.

The first two verses make up the first strophe and announce the theme. The Psalmist likens himself to an oriental servant who always has his eye upon his master, noting every move and ready to obey his slightest command. He has been wronged, oppressed and despised but he presents his petition to the throne of grace and looks steadfastly for an answer. The real nature of the trouble is disclosed in the second strophe, which in some respects is a variation upon the first. But here all impatience is absent, it being an earnest, heartfelt prayer.

David has received credit for the composition of Psalm 124, Delitzsch conjectures that the reason for this is that certain expressions of Davidic Psalms occur in this one. None of the most ancient versions have this ascription of authorship.

Its similarity to Psalm 129 is very marked and these two are undoubtedly by the same rural poet. It contains Aramaisms which tend to place its authorship among the common people. While it

does, as some have pointed out, express the feelings of that company led by Zerubbabel to Jerusalem, of itself this is insufficient evidence upon which to determine a date. Gunkel, in his *Die Psalmen,* cites several Babylonian phrases bearing a marked similarity to phrases in the Psalm. But the figures, as in Psalm 129, are rural and primitive. Perhaps the basis for this Psalm is an old folk song. Its theme is "Praise for Redemption," and its characteristic word is "escape."

The first strophe is made up of verses one to five inclusive. Here the Psalmist compares those in peril with men whom others would destroy and with a man caught in a rushing mountain stream. The deliverance effected is marvelous in his eyes.

The second strophe opens with praises to Jahweh. Then the Psalmist appropriates the figure of the snare and glorifies Jahveh for His deliverance. The Psalm rings with the joy of deliverance from some fearful situation. The last line of the seventh verse seems to carry with it a note of supreme exultation, and the whole closes with an ascription to Jahweh, the deliverer and creator.

Cox says that the effect of the figures in the Psalm is "indefinitely enhanced by the lingering repetition of phrase after phrase, by which our tardy imaginations are, as it were, roused to activity, and fastened on the image he calls up before us."

Psalm 125 was perhaps written some time between the first return and the time of Nehemiah, because it portrays conditions more closely associated with that time. Gunkel calls it a "Volksklagied" and it seems so to be. Its authorship is unknown and its theme is "Jahweh, the True Wall."

The first strophe, verses one to three inclusive, clearly alludes to Jerusalem before the walls were built by Nehemiah. Jahweh is the true object of trust; he is the true wall about his people. Probably this strophe also has some allusion to the intermarriages with Samaritans and others, and Ezra's "abominations of the wicked".

The remainder of the Psalm comprises the second strophe. It sets forth a peculiarity of the Hebrew religion, often called the Deuteronomic conception, that prosperity is a sign of Divine favor

and that lack of it indicates sinfulness. Is verse five a prayer against those who worshipped the idols during the captivity? A closing sentence invokes peace upon Israel, a thing they greatly desired.

There is no question regarding the post-exilic date of Psalm 126 because it is a song of thanksgiving for the return and prayer for the release of those still in a strange land. While some elected to remain away from the homeland, and others were held for various reasons, all looked at such detention as a captivity and hoped for the day when all Jews, in wealth and prosperity, could be again in Palestine.

A prayer of thankfulness is enunciated in the first strophe, verses one to three inclusive. So great was the impression made upon them that we may well imagine that they were "like unto them that dream." The God of their fathers had fulfilled his promise; their joy was now full.

But in their gladness they did not forget their brethren; the plea of the second strophe is for these captives. This strophe suggests a widely held hope that patient, persistent toil will win its reward.

Psalm 127 suggests to us the happiness of a household in which dwells the love and fear of the Lord. It teaches that without God's blessing human effort is vain. Its authorship is ascribed to Solomon, probably because of the occurrence of the word "Jedidiah" (beloved of Jah), a name given to Solomon by Nathan (2 Sam. 12:25). The Septuagint assigns it to no one. The Syriac Psalter says it was spoken by David regarding Solomon and also that it was concerning Haggai and Zechariah who urged the building of the second temple. It is a Hebrew folk song, with no relation to a pilgrimage, but throwing light on the every day religion of the people. Nevertheless it is a type of song which would be used by a band of pilgrims going to a religious feast, especially if it had woven its way, by long use, into the hearts of the people.

As a whole the Pilgrim Psalms are characterized by unity,

but this one has an abrupt transition of thought between strophoi, causing many authorities to divide the Psalm in twain; but such a transition has been known to have occurred in the folk songs of many lands. A dominant note, however, runs through it all.

The last line of verse two does not make sense in the English version and it presents difficulties in translation. Perhaps it should be translated, "He giveth to his beloved even in sleep," thus setting forth the peculiar prosperity significance of the Hebrew religion. Gunkel makes this significant remark: "Das Geschenk im Schlaf ist ein Märchenmotiv: der Aufwachende findet des Morgens das Gewünschte am Lager stehen." But even this might be used as an argument for a very early date, and the Psalm is, without doubt, another of the class of folk songs handed down from early times. The first strophe treats of the home and the community while the second strophe deals with the Hebrew love of children, comment on both being unnecessary.

Luther called Psalm 128 an Epithalamium, or Marriage Song, while Gunkel, another German, calls it a Wisdom Psalm. Perhaps each gave vent to what was uppermost in his mind, but Luther appears to have had the better grasp of phraseology in this case.

This Psalm is purely a picture of rural life. It expresses the Deuteronomic conception of material prosperity as a reward for faithfulness, and also expresses the blessedness of children. But this cannot be used as an argument for a late date. Any student of humanity knows that laws, to be readily accepted by a people, must be their codified will. While it can hardly be disproven that Deuteronomy, in its present form, was brought forth at a late date, it might equally be true that Deuteronomy simply crystallized beliefs long held by the people; and a study of early Hebrew literature tends to give weight to this statement.

Aramaisms occur in this Psalm also, but they are of the type which tends to prove an authorship among the common people and, without doubt, we have here another very old folk song, long used by the people and appropriated to pilgrimage use.

Cox calls this Psalm the "Home Sweet Home" of the Hebrew race. Luther, who owed much to this and the preceding Psalm

by way of married happiness, repaid his debt by writing special commentaries on them, thus restoring the Psalms to their true purposes, from which they had been wrested by Chrysostom, Augustine and others. Luther's commentary and lectures on these two Psalms did much to restore the sanctity of European married life.

The first strophe, verses one to four inclusive, is a picture of a happy life. We are here introduced to the sturdy Hebrew farmer who is confident of reaping his harvest because he fears Jahweh. We also have presented to us a picture of the Hebrew wife under the figure of the vine, probably because the vine denotes fruitfulness, comeliness, grace and beauty. Children appear as olive plants and are the richest blessings of Jahweh. To be without children was to feel a deep sense of sin. The olive tree is often found in oriental courts and is a figure of vigor, health and joy. Here we have the picture of a Hebrew family—the God-fearing father, the graceful, diligent wife and the sturdy children.

The remainder of the Psalm comprises the second strophe and introduces us to the blessings which follow such a life as has been described. The Psalmist breaks into a little burst of patriotism in connection with Jerusalem and grandchildren. The welfare of the family and the welfare of the state were inseparably connected in the Hebrew scheme of things. The Hebrew lived in his children and to see his grandchildren was a great blessing. The closing stichos, "Peace upon Israel", while the usual Hebrew salutatation, is very appropriate because such a picture could only exist in a time of peace, and itself makes for peace.

As stated in the comments on Psalm 124, the 129th Psalm and the 124th bear much resemblance to each other. Both have the same rhythmical structure, the same style, the same or similar subjects; in each, two chief figures are used; both have the same atmosphere; both have a rather melancholy beginning; the Aramaisms are similar, and both may, with scarcely a doubt, be classed as old folk songs.

This Psalm falls into two strophoi of four verses each. The first is a record of the past; it is one of conflict and persecution, yet a note of victory is sounded. The ground of this victory is the

righteousness of Jahweh, which raises an interesting theological question foreign to our immediate subject. The affliction is illustrated by the figure of plowing furrows in the back of the poet, purely rural in its conception.

Full of hope for his deliverance the psalmist, in the second strophe, indulges in a hope and a prayer for the final overthrow of the enemies of Israel. They are like grass upon the housetop, which, having little soil and moisture, withers under the burning sun. The seventh and eighth verses give us a picture of the harvest as it was at one time. The passerby stops to greet the harvesters with the customary, "The blessings of Jahveh be upon you," and the reapers reply, "We bless you in the name of Jahveh" (cf. Ruth 2:4).

Psalm 130 is one of the seven penitential Psalms; it is the great "De Profundis" of the Christian church. Its style is simple, yet artistic, and its theme is "Forgiveness Based on Jahweh's Love." Luther called this one of the Pauline Psalms, the others, according to his classification, being the 32nd, the 51st, and the 143rd. He called them Psalmi Paulini because "they teach us that the forgiveness of sins is vouchsafed to them that believe without the law and without the works." His hymn "Aus Tiefer Noth" is a free rendering of this Psalm.

Delitzsch observes that a few of the words and phrases of this Psalm occur also in Psalm 86. Aramaisms also appear. But the Psalm is independent of date and authorship, being a universal Psalm, because it expresses a deep religious emotion common to all who seek the Lord, leaving aside fear and apprehension and giving, as Peters observes, the impression of "a favored child confessing to a very tender parent".

The first two verses make up the first strophe and here we have the Hebrew words Jahweh and Adonai and the shorter form Jah. Some have wondered if this is not an early indication of the substitution of Adonai for Jahweh, but this lies purely in the realm of conjecture.

The figure seems to be that of a shipwrecked mariner. But the author does not linger on this picture. Cox says, "If the author

of Psalms 124 and 129 had taken it in hand, what a picture he would have given us of the broken pieces of the ship, tossing on the angry sea beneath a dark and frowning heaven, and of the poor wretch clinging to the wreck, and straining his eyes to catch the first streaks of dawn!" But this writer has a greater theme to express in simple style. From a quick but vivid description of his own condition he turns to Jahweh, the covenant God. Then he immediately turns to Adonai, and it is with Adonai that he pleads to be attentive to the voice of his supplications.

The next strophe, verses three and four, brings out the Pauline thought that forgiveness is solely dependent upon Divine mercy. God forgives that his Name may be more greatly magnified, because of the filial fear engendered in the hearts of his believers.

The repetitions of the next strophe, verses five and six, seem to be a description of the great patience with which the Psalmist waits, looks and longs for forgiveness. From his condition in the depths he watches diligently for the dawn, for a sign from Adonai.

That the prayer was answered and forgiveness granted, we confidently believe because the last strophe is an exultant note of praise. It is also a passionate appeal to Israel to hope in Jahweh; to hope in the One who has granted forgiveness to the poet. This Psalm is unlike any other in the collection, but it would lend itself admirably for use among those going to Jerusalem for Yom Kippur.

Psalm 131, it is reasonably certain, marked the close of the original pilgrim collection. Gunkel calls it "ein kurzer Stosseufzer". It is ascribed to David and some have stated that it breathes David's humility and that it suggests 2 Sam. 6:22 where David replies to Michal, "And I will become of still less account than this, and I will be lowly in my own eyes." Verse one appears to have some connection with 2 Sam. 22:28, but there is just as much connection with Isa. 2:12 and 5:15. The Psalm, however, does not depend upon authorship. The remark of Reuss is very suggestive, "Few words, short lines, sober images, all conspire to place in striking relief that virtue which certainly was not a characteristic

of the Jewish nation, but which has been sanctioned and consecrated by the Gospel."

The Psalm is divided into two strophoi, the last verse being the second. The first one asserts humility without losing it. The phrase "mine eyes lifted up" occurs also in Psalms 18:27 and 101:5. Humility consists in conquering one's self, one's pride and self-assertion. When this condition is reached one is like a weaned child who is no longer dependent upon the milk of other men's praises or condemnations.

The last strophe is a sort of doxology and has no apparent connection with the first strophe, although it may have been placed there as a fitting close to the original collection of pilgrim songs.

As already stated the last Psalms of the collection show a temple influence. They are introduced by Psalm 132, which is a prayer for the blessing of Jahweh upon the temple. The controversy over the date of this Psalm is interesting. Some of the theories advanced are:/

1. That it is a prayer of David at the bringing up of the ark or when he first conceived the idea of building a temple. This is the view of most of the ancient scholars. But the Psalm could hardly have been composed before the promise recorded in 2 Sam. 7, and it could thus not be possible to connect it with the tabernacle.

2. That it was written to commemorate the building of the second temple. In support of this theory various dates to the time of the Maccabees have been assigned it. Reuss lays great stress on the words "anointed" and "crown" in verses seventeen and eighteen. This is done with specific reference to the priestly power exercised after the restoration; but this appears to be an argument in support of a theory.

3. That it is a prayer of the exiled Hebrews in captivity longing for the rebuilding of the temple. This was held by Origen, Theodoret and other Greek fathers.

4. Maurer refers it to the time of Josiah and makes the reformation of that time the occasion of the psalm.

5. That the Psalm was written in commemoration of the building of Solomon's temple and perhaps used at the dedication

ceremonies. This theory is more plausible. It seems highly improbable that the Jew, emotional as he was, should not be moved at the sight of the completed temple. The people had waited for a long time, during which they remembered the promise to their fathers and to David. It is easy to believe that the soul of some poet was moved to give immortal expression to that feeling. The Psalm contains no reference to the captivity. Did this Psalm refer to the rebuilding of the temple it seems highly improbable that the author would refrain from mentioning, in some way, the years of captivity. This was too momentous an event in their history—the destruction of the state, the destruction of the ethical unit, the destruction of the temple—to have gone unmentioned at the dedication of the second temple. We have an allusion in the Psalm to the ark of the covenant and there is little authentic evidence that this existed after the restoration. This is the only time the ark is mentioned in the Psalter. A comparison of verses eight, nine and ten is often made with 2 Chron. 6:41, 42; but a comparison with Solomon's prayer as recorded in 1 Kings 8 tends to show that the author of Chronicles borrowed from this Psalm, and if this Psalm were composed for the dedication of Solomon's temple, or at about the time of that great event, it would be natural for the author of Chronicles to refer to and quote it. Chronicles, as we knew, contains many amplifications of earlier statements.

The first strophe of the Psalm is made up of the first five verses. It recounts David's supposed vow to build a temple. Literally, Scripture does not elsewhere tell us of a *vow* of David to build a temple. 2 Sam. 7:2ff. and 1 Kings 8:17ff. say he had it in mind to build a temple and that he brought the ark to Jerusalem and established a shrine there. The allusion to the tent shows how the patriarchal life and the time of the Judges was fixed in the minds of the people. The magnificent structure could hardly fail to arouse thoughts of David's devotion to a desire of his life time.

The second strophe, verses six to ten inclusive, recounts the wanderings of the ark. It seems fitting that this should be so, because now it was to have a habitation which befitted its dignity. It also contains a prayer for the priests and the followers of Jahweh, for the sake of David. The first two stichoi of this

strophe present an interesting problem. It is probable that the Psalmist refers to the news of the ark first reaching Bethlehem. Verse eight appears to have some reference to Num. 10:35. The third and final strophe, comprising the rest of the Psalm, is the answering of the prayer. Each petition of the prayer seems to be echoed back. Explanation of this strophe is unnecessary. But the first stichos of verse seventeen is poorly translated in the Authorized and American Revised Versions, which have it "the horn of David to bud". Who ever heard of a horn budding? The original has "a horn springing forth". *Qeren*, translated "horn" here and in Ezek. 29:21, also is symbolically used to denote "strength" or "power" in men or state, and the context seems to dictate the use of this meaning; otherwise the sense is lost.

Herder says that Psalm 133 has the beauty and fragrance of a lovely rose. A song of brotherly unity, it is one of the most beautiful gems in all literature. The title assigns it to David but its figures assign it to a poet of northern Israel. There are four main conjectures regarding the date of its composition: (1) The crowning of David at Hebron; (2) The capture of Jerusalem by David; (3) The sight of the multitudes coming up to the feasts at Jerusalem; (4) A post-exilic date because of the supposed unity of the kingdom at that time. There is no internal evidence for determining the date and author, and none is needed, although it appears to be very old. To debate concerning these things as regards this Psalm is like analyzing a sunbeam, dissecting a rainbow or tearing apart a rose; it was not made for analysis.

Let us look at the metaphors. The oil used to consecrate the High Priest and all sacred things was olive oil compounded with four of the most costly and precious fragrant spices, myrrh, cinnamon, calamas and cassia. The High Priest was lavishly anointed with it, so that it ran down to the hem of his garment. Cox says, "But the point of comparison does not lie in the costliness of the oil, or in its choice fragrance, or even in its sanctity. It lies rather in this, that the sacred oil poured on the head of Aaron did not rest there, but flowed down the beard, down even to the hem of his skirt, so that the whole body, the whole man, was sanctified by it.

This is the point on which the Psalmist lays stress; and what he seeks to set forth by the figure is, that brotherly love unites and sanctifies the whole body politic."

Hermon overlooks Palestine and its slopes were often covered with dew. The dew, a gentle softness, a symbol of love, is used to show that the basis of the true unity of mankind is love; and this Psalm might well be used to open present day peace conferences.

The final Psalm of this collection is "The Greeting of the Night Watch", and it is a fitting benediction to the whole. There are two interpretations of its use: (1) That it was the greeting of the watch about to take up its duty and the response of those on watch at the time. The interpretation that it is the greeting of the priests and levites as they met on their nightly rounds is a variation of this. (2) It is well known that in the East the traveler begins his journey in the early morning and rests during the heat of the day. After coming to Jerusalem for the purpose of observing the feasts it would be natural for the devout Hebrew to desire a last look at the magnificent temple where the ceremonies of worship never ceased. Perhaps a certain pilgrim on such an occasion was moved to compose this Psalm, which was later appropriated to temple use.

The Targum gives a description of night temple service. Perowne states it thus: "The custom in the second temple appears to have been this. After midnight the chief of the door-keepers took the key of the inner temple, and went with some of the priests through the small postern of the fire gate. . . . . In the inner court this watch divided itself into two companies, each carrying a burning torch; one company turned west, the other east, and so they compassed the court to see whether all were in readiness for the temple services on the following morning. In the bakehouse, where the meat-offering of the High Priest was baked, they met with the cry, 'All is well'. Meanwhile the rest of the priests arose, bathed themselves and put on their garments. Then they went into the stone chamber (one half of which was the hall of session of the Sanhedrin), and there, under the superintendence of the officer who gave the watchword and one of the Sanhedrin, sur-

rounded by the priests clad in their robes of office, their several duties for the coming day were assigned to each of the priests by lot." (Cf. Luke 1:9, 1 Chron. 9:27-33, 23:36, Isa. 30:29ff.)

Perhaps this Psalm was used by the pilgrims as a last greeting to the temple before their final leave. It does not seem reasonable that the priests and their helpers could answer each group of pilgrims with the blessing of verse three as some commentators state, nor does the first theory given above seem to have much evidence to support it.

The final blessing, verse three, is the second strophe which is made up of parts of Psalms 128:5 and 124:8. The Psalm appears to be post-exilic, but no definite date can at present be assigned it.

This little Psalter contains Psalms which deal with some of the profoundest expressions of the Hebrew faith, and with many phases of Jewish life and activity. Their deep, universal religious tone has endeared them to many generations.

FORM WITHOUT SPIRIT

MATTHEW NATHANAEL LUNDQUIST
Oneonta, New York

FORM without spirit is void and vain. Realizing this fact, the church desires worship that is filled with Holy Spirit. To accept something, something must be given. "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him" (Luke 11:13). The Spirit that can fill the old church forms with real life is not yet dead, but it awaits willing servants.

It is a serious matter when the Spirit departs from the forms, but it is even more serious when we believe that this may be remedied by providing new forms. Used by spirit-filled men, the old forms are again filled with spirit and made living in time.

We need spirit. Prayer is necessary. But also earnest study —a real living into the forms. That which we do not know, that which we are not thoroughly familiar with, we do not control, command.

This living into the worship forms is of equal importance to all who have something to do with divine worship. The pastor is not alone in the performance of the church service. An Evangelical Lutheran church service requires the co-operation of pastor, church musicians, and congregation. But it also involves significant contributions by the representatives of the imitative arts. Should the church realize that it is a very serious matter if divine worship is merely a dabbling in empty forms on the part of the participants, then it is the duty of the church to give those who are to perform the church service an opportunity to live into the forms, to study them, both theoretically and practically. As to pastor, church musicians, and artists, it is evident that opportunity of study and practice must be offered them before they undertake the solemn duties of leadership. And the church has a right to expect that such an opportunity be carefully and studiously used. In

these matters the church has not fully realized its duty. Practical training is weak. A living into the worship forms cannot be attained by listening to a few scholarly lectures. This particular study includes the art of preaching, efficiency in selection of service hymns, liturgical church music (altar song), the management of church services other than the principal one, and at least a minimum of liturgical order and culture. Sincere and active young pastors often complain about deficient skill and understanding. They have to complete their training on their own initiative in some other way as best they can. Is there not great danger of lack of spirit in worship forms, when thorough understanding and proper opportunity of practice are wanting? And our American Lutheran organists and choirmasters! Deficient organ study and no liturgical training. No training in voice and choir-directing. The church has a right to expect that those who are to lead the congregation in its prayer and invocation before the Lord should be thoroughly familiar with the purport of the forms through which this invocation is presented and that they have really lived into them. And the organists and choirmasters have a right to expect that proper training is offered. As it is, the American Lutheran organist and choirmaster has to find his way as best he can. To become efficient, he will have to spend a year or two at six or seven schools, Lutheran and non-Lutheran. It cannot be done at one Lutheran institution. Here, we must say, the leadership of the church has failed. Perhaps the church could have an official influence at one of America's leading music schools. We note with considerable interest the excellent relation of the young Saxon church to the strong Church Music department at the famous Leipzig Conservatory. A few of our Lutheran colleges and theological schools ought to have strong and well organized church music departments. A good summer school for Lutheran organists and choirmasters would be an excellent thing.

Not long ago a Lutheran city church elected an efficient Lutheran organist (man) and an inefficient non-Lutheran choirmaster (woman). Naturally it was difficult for this Lutheran organist and the non-Lutheran choirmaster to co-operate. Finally the good Lutheran organist was dismissed and the non-Lutheran choirmas-

ter retained. Inefficiency had been permitted to win a victory over efficiency. Deplorable unfairness! Who is to be blamed? The "rulers" of the congregation or the pastor or the church? Some real work will have to be done, in order to save American Lutheran church music from ruin.

What is done by our church, so that our fine arts students, future church workers, may really come to know the Spirit without which all church forms are void and vain? Little or nothing. Not so within the Roman church. One example: annually there is arranged by the scholarly monks of Maria-Laach for the young artists at Düsseldorf and Cologne several weeks of study for the purpose of giving them an opportunity to participate in church services, which leads to a thorough understanding of the spiritual life of the church; there are also lectures which throw light upon church services and artistic ecclesiastical questions. Has the American Lutheran church lost the consciousness that her Spirit is strong enough to inspire and motivate artistic creation?

This living into the worship forms, should, in the first place, be applied to the congregation. Great educational work! Each new generation, every new age, must be so trained in the worship forms that these may really become expressions of the congregation's communion with God. That which the congregation is not thoroughly familiar with cannot be a spirit-filled form. With respect to the congregation, perhaps the hymn-singing is the most important question. However, if the congregation does not take an active and accurate part in the whole church service, then there is reason to fear that the church service may be an empty form to the congregation. Certainly, a church service may be highly edifying when only the great old chorales are sung well and heartily by the congregation. The most elaborate church service, but with a mute congregation, is a dreary and cheerless thing. If we regard the church service from the point of view of the congregation's meeting with God, the hymn-singing is the most indispensable moment of an evangelical Lutheran church service. But God's Word and the sermon? I am inclined to believe that the old folks are right, when they claim that the old hymnbook is God's Word. This implies that the hymn-singing is both proclamation and sac-

rificial prayer. But, does the present generation realize the necessity of practice in this very important worship form? There is much worthless talk about the rhythm of the chorales. The much wished-for congregational singing may be attained with any good chorale book, old or new. The most perfect chorale book in itself cannot create excellent hymn-singing. Energy, will and perseverance, especially on the part of the clergy and the church musicians, is required. No great hymn-singing is attained without constant careful practice. In order that hymn and chorale may be something more than empty forms, practice is required. We cannot afford to miss a single opportunity: in Sunday school, with candidates for confirmation, among young people, at prayer meetings. The living chorale in the congregation should be a center in worship life. Certainly, it is desirable that the congregation enjoy sound practice in the liturgical forms in the Common Service Book, in the mass (principal liturgical church service), and especially in the Communion Service, but I believe that this will come of itself, if we regain the living Lutheran chorale.

Perhaps mention should be made of one of the most common and disturbing misconceptions in the performance of the liturgy. There appears to be misunderstanding with respect to stress-points in chanting (syllables in heavy type)—under no circumstances are these to be considered as "holds" (fermata), but must always be treated as rhythmic accents. There is also great danger in chanting the liturgical parts too slowly, thereby destroying the life, the vitality of the words and the music. Andante con moto is perhaps the correct tempo.

The pastor, the church musicians, the artists, and the congregation create the church service. Many participants make a satisfactory church service possible. They must seek and attain real contact with one another. Each one must be willing to defer to a higher authority and be a servant of the one Gospel. From this Gospel our church forms derive their content: the fixed liturgical order, the hymns and the chorales, the organ music, the anthems, the sermon, the liturgical vestments, the very church building, when all is as it ought to be.

Each and every church service attains its unified character

when it is a radiation from the Gospel. Then the church services are as varied as the Gospel is diversified. This Gospel unity in variety is beautifully preserved in the church year. In proportion as we gain from the different Sundays their peculiar character, we gain from the church year the richness of the Gospel. When each Sunday receives its peculiar character, we are protected against comfortless and hopeless sameness. The richness of the church year! Here we note the great responsibility of the pastor. He can defer to the church year in his preaching, in his selection of hymns, in his loyal following of liturgical directions, etc. If the pastor lays a good foundation, then the church musicians, co-operating heartily with the pastor, can let the congregation feel the pulse and the rhythm of the church year. The pastor should never forget that his right to decide upon the hymns implies a great responsibility. He is the one to decide upon what great hymns are to be made living in the church services throughout the church year. Some hymns ought to be allowed to be forgotten. Sometimes six or seven great Lutheran hymns are used a little too much —not necessary.

Just when should the hymns be selected? On Sunday morning, when the pastor is about ready to go to the church service? I wonder if some other time would not be beter, a psychologically correct moment. I assume that the pastor has gotten into the character and the text of the Sunday. He forms a theme for his sermon—and why not let this be the theme of the whole church service? In relation to this theme the pastor prepares the "introduction" and forms the disposition, but before the sermon is worked out in detail, he thinks of the hymns. During the first part of the week the hymn selection is given to the organist and choirmaster. At that time the anthem (or solo song) is carefully selected. Then the sermon may be given its distinctive character, because it brings together, so to speak, what is prepared, pointed to, by liturgy, texts, hymns, anthem, and organ music. The sermon is strongly determined by the Gospel for the Day. The best sermon is the one that really fits into the continuity where it has been put.

Early hymn selection is a good thing. The pastor does not

enter the pulpit unprepared. The church musician should not be expected to extemporize his church service. If the organist and choirmaster is not given opportunity of preparation, the congregation may find that a great deal of music is repeated rather liberally, or that the method of extemporizing preachers is employed: ramble on common ground—cheap stuff.

Our aim ought to be to try to create unified church services, church services in which the different means of expression point in the same direction and do not resist one another. Before I leave this point, I would like to refer to a most interesting question, the question concerning liturgical vestments. There is a noble desire to let the liturgical colours point to the Gospel. We have accepted quite uncritically the colours of Roman colour-canon and the usual distribution of the colours among the Sundays and holy days of the church year. We ought to go into this question quite thoroughly, as it is an important one, and also because the Roman usage is, traditionally, not so very old. I refer the reader to the very interesting and valuable articles by the Rev. J. F. Otto on Liturgical Vestments, in *The Lutheran Herald* (May 31, June 14, and June 28, 1930). Blue has been an important colour within Scandinavian Lutheranism. As an Advent (preparation) colour, blue has about as good traditions as violet. There is little or no reason for eliminating the classical purple, the colour of suffering and royal power, for the last Sundays in Lent, Good Friday (the great triumphal day of suffering love), and Judgment Sunday. Purple for the last period of Passion season implies general English usage. White and red are the ancient festal colours. But with us the many martyr days with their colour of red disappear, wherefore white seems to predominate.

Our next point: Divine worship in the house of God; not entertainment. Entertainment implies a dabbling in forms, often under colour of worship, which lack spirit, at least the spirit of Christian worship life. Entertainment furnishes diversion and amusement. Divine worship edifies in the New Testament sense. One person finds an expression of worship highly edifying, while another person is irritated by it. A liturgical part or a sacred song performed by church choir or liturgist, we perceive at one

sume an edifying character, performed by other forces, they cease to do so. This difference depends somewhat upon the degree of education and culture on the part of the performers and the listeners. This is an important problem which requires careful thought and action. This difference must be perceived, instinctively by pastor and church musician. Even the most liturgical and edifying parts may be so used as to become merely entertaining. When the bravura-singer sings his solo, Sanctus or Gloria, or when the choir sings a Te Deum Laudamus, there is nothing wrong with words or music; the blunder is entirely on the part of those who draw our thoughts from the content to the performance and thus change the edification into entertainment. Artistic vanity is a dangerous thing to divine worship.

Entertainment also conquers edification when elements foreign to the soul of divine worship are pressed into the framework. The great danger of many-colouredness and overloading threatens especially at "musical" church services, where creative imagination enjoys considerable freedom—organ devotions, mystery plays, sung sermons, music, prayers, etc. What is brought together in the "program" has the character of an evening entertainment with religious content, and the impression is obviously borrowed from the theatre. The more variegated, the better. All this may take place in the Parish House or Luther League Hall, but when such things enter the church under name of worship, then we have a right to observe that the place which God has appointed as a place of prayer, must not even with the best of intentions be changed into a den of thieves. On guard against entertainment!

BOOK REVIEWS

THE THEOLOGY OF PERSONALISM

Two volumes have recently come from the same theological school—the Philosophy of Personalism.[1] The former speaks of it as a world-view in which religion can live and breathe; the latter develops a theological system consonant with such a world-view.

The Significance of Personality, by Prof. Vaughan, is written in a more popular style and is well adapted to the general reader. It considers ourselves, God, nature, history and society and seeks to show that these can best be explained by postulating Personality and that no other world-view sheds clearer light on these great subjects. This, too, leads to a new appreciation of Jesus and the way of salvation. In trying to understand Jesus, we deal with a single indivisible reality, namely, his personality. "No doubt we need 'human' and 'divine' as antithetic terms, for the one speaks of weakness, limitation, unrealized possibilities the other speaks of the infinity, the perfection, which distinctively mark the life of God. But the antithesis in these terms moves within the sphere of personality." According to the author's view, his deity is the perfection of his humanity. This is a view frequently met with at the present time. Its simplicity commends it to many. The Barthian movement may remind us, however, that its simplicity may also lead us into error of thinking that God is altogether such as we are. One of the most suggestive chapters in the book is that the worth of personality gives us the right dynamic of morality. After discussing these subjects, as also the permanence of spiritual values, the author concludes with a chapter on the Certainty of Religion. The attainment of this is through the activity of the whole range of our spiritual powers—our whole personality. "If religion moves primarily in a personal world, the method of religious knowledge will be the method suitable to that kind of a world." Coherence of thought, emotional satisfaction and practical workability are stressed as the chief marks of certainty. This book may well be used as an apologetic for Christian Theism.

The Doctrine of God, by Dr. Knudson, is the first volume in Systematic Theology by the philosopher-theologian, Dr. Knudson. He is already favor-

1 *The Significance of Personality*. By Richard M. Vaughan, Professor of Christian Theology, Newton Theological Institution. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. 302 pages. $2.50.

The Doctrine of God. By Albert C. Knudson, Professor of Theology, Boston University. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1930. 434 pages. $3.50.

ably known by his philosophy of Personalism—a restatement and defense of the personalistic philosophy associated with the name of Borden P. Bowne. The author sets out to construct a system of theology that shall commend itself as reasonable. The Introduction covers nearly half of this first volume. It discusses Religion and Theology, the Christian Faith and Theology, Science and Theology and Philosophy and Theology, and then comes to the Method of Theology. Religion is the special province of Theology. Its permanent place in human life is vindicated as over against the views, now prevalent in not a few high places, that it is illusory. The Christian Faith is next discussed as over against the only rival the author considers to be in the field—the Buddhistic-Oriental. "Christianity is superior to Buddhism and to every other religion, superior in its theological content, superior in its power to meet the deepest need of the soul. This conclusion is warranted by the comparative study of religion; but the ultimate decision of the question cannot, of course, be effected by mere study. It can be reached only in history itself, which has been described as the battlefield of the standards of value" (p. 119). While holding clearly to the triumph of the Christian Faith as showing its absoluteness, he limits such triumph to its essence. In answering the question what its essence is, he follows Schleiermacher and Ritschl in finding it by relating everything to the redemption in Jesus Christ.

Whether Theology is an empirical science or not, whether there is a conflict between Science and Theology, and especially in the field of what is known as the miraculous—these are questions discussed under Science and Theology. To the first the answer of the author is that there are in Theology —even in that based on experience—extra- or superscientific factors which can not be discarded. About miracle, the author takes a view opposed to both sides of the controversy of long standing, a controversy that seems to many to have reached a stalemate. "No one knows enough about the nature of ultimate reality to be warranted in affirming the impossibility of miracle." "On the other hand, it is equally evident that miracle cannot establish the truth of any proposition that does not commend itself to reason" (p. 140).

As would be expected from the author who is a philosopher as well as a theologian, the chapter on the relation of philosophy and theology is especially suggestive. He, in common with many others, is dissatisfied with the Kantian distinction drawn between the theoretical and practical reason. The philosophical problems in which theology is vitally interested are first, that about knowledge, that the human mind is not limited to the sense plane, that it is able to transcend the empirical; then, secondly, the question of the "I", the reality of personality, and thirdly, that of casuality—which is implied in the Christian conception of God as the Creator and in the belief in Providence.

Under Sources of Theology, the author does not hold to an infallible Bible and yet takes the position that "it is the Bible that in a special and pre-

eminent sense is the source of norm of Christian belief" (p. 175). The religion of Jesus is not put by the author as in opposition to the religion about Jesus as so many do in our time. "Christianity owed its origin to the impression made by the personality of Jesus. This impression was double. The disciples saw in Jesus and His work not simply a human quest after God, but a divine quest after man. They beheld in him not merely the perfect sanctity of a man but the gracious advent of Deity" (p. 180).

In his method, the author follows the traditional method beginning with the Doctrine of God and the Trinity, following with man, and the problem of sin, and then concluding with Redemption, although he does not regard the order of the presentation of these doctrines as a matter of any special importance.

We have dwelt on the Introduction at greater length but the discussion of the main part of the book, the Doctrine of God, is equally worthy of the student's careful study. The author does not regard God as the totally other of the Barthian School. Rather his standpoint is that we may know him from the highest we have here, especially from the facts of personality. Though the dogmatic constructions of the past are not regarded as of the essence of Christianity, it is remarkable how closely this system on the whole follows the essentials of those constructions, though free it may be to express dissent from not a few of their details. The student feels that he has here the conclusions of one who has thought through the problems of the Doctrine of God in the light of all the various thought currents of our day. The second volume on Redemption will be awaited with interest.

JOHN ABERLY

A NEW INTEREST IN ETHICS

There appears to be a new interest in the subject of Ethics. The three volumes which follow would seem to be an indication of it.[1]

The Introduction to Ethics, by Dr. Wright, is general and covers a large field. Writers on general Ethics often fail to give any recognition to the contribution made to Ethics by the Old and New Testaments and by Christian thought since that time. Dr. Wright gives all of these due consideration in his Introduction. The standpoint is that of evolutionary Ethics and the author places himself among eudaemonists in his treatment of the subject.

1 *An Introduction to Ethics.* By W. K. Wright, Professor of Philosophy in Dartmouth College. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. 558 pages. $3.50.

The Theory of Christ's Ethics. By F. A. M. Spencer, D.D. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1930. 252 pages. 7/6.

The Ethics of Paul. By Morton Scott Enslin, Th.D., Crozer Theological Seminary. New York: Harper & Bros., 1930. 335 pages. $4.00.

Ethical standards are upheld because they make for the largest good of the greatest number. This being its standpoint, it is encouraging to see how the standards of Christian Ethics are in the main upheld. A concluding chapter discusses the postulates and the metaphysical implications of Ethics. Here the author is Kantian in holding that God, freedom and immortality are guaranteed by the fact that the ethical life has evolved in the order in which we live. The Introduction is written particularly for students. In these days, when the very foundations of right and wrong are being questioned, when relativity in Ethics appeals to so many, this Introduction ought to meet a real need in properly orientating students in this important field of study.

The Theory of Christ's Ethics, by Dr. Spencer, deals with the more limited field of Christ's own ethical teachings as found in the Old Testament. His attitude to the Law, fulfilling and not destroying it, is then discussed. The moral principles Christ inculcated are reduced to three—kindness, work and self-consecration, and these he sums up in the one end the production of good. The new birth, as it used to be known in Christian terminology, he discusses under the heal of the moralizing of the instincts. The Christian virtues are presented as eight in number—the cardinal virtues of faith, hope and love, followed by trust, fidelity, humility, sincerity, and courage. Forgiveness is considered separately as an ethical force in man's life, and in discussing it the author summarizes briefly what is given much more in detail in H. R. Mackintosh's *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness.* This study also concludes with a postulate; and in doing so he follows T. H. Green that "men will not recognize allegiance to anything so impalpable as the moral reader . . . . they need a God. A personal God is the incarnation of the unity which the moral judgment requires." The discussion of Christ's Ethics in this volume is most suggestive.

The Ethics of Paul, by Dr. Enslin, calls attention to the prominent place given to Ethics in Paul's teaching. Instead of making Paul chiefly a theologian, this book presents him as chiefly an ethical teacher. The background of St. Paul and his inheritance from Judaism and from Greek ethical and mystery cults are first given. Their answers to moral problems are considered and this is followed by the answer of Paul. Separation from a defiling world, steadfastness in all the conduct of life, the love that serves and the joy of the Lord which is to be man's strength are presented as the chief characteristics of the Ethics of Paul. The book is fully documented and ought to be of special value to students not only because of its scholarly character but also because it points the way to a more comprehensive study of this important phase of Paul's teaching.

JOHN ABERLY

RECENT GERMAN THEOLOGY

A dogmatic of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, much of it very good, is given by Jelke, *Die Grunddogmen des Christentums.*[1] What is especially gratifying is that we have here another recognition of the centrality of the atonement for all Christianity. This fact is being more and more appreciated in modern theology in contrast to its deprecation that was current a generation ago and which still survives in the minds of some youthful scribes who have not progressed mentally beyond that period.

His method is a peculiar one. Holding that nothing belongs in a dogmatic which is not a part of the actual experience the dogmatician has made of the revelation of God in Christ, as it is given in Scripture, he realizes that the merely subjective experience of one individual is not sufficient. He believes that the experience of the church as expressed in her confessions must be added and that the theologians must arrive at an understanding of the extent of the faith through the experience which the church has gained in the course of the centuries. Accordingly he uses the following method of dogmatic approach: First he investigates the development of each doctrine and its final formulation in the Confessions of the church, together with the understanding of the Confessions by the great theologians, particularly those of the sixteenth century, because their purpose was not to build up speculative systems but simply to interpret the confessional theology. Then follows the investigation of the Scriptural material involved and, when all this historical investigation is finished, the specific dogmatic formulation, which is to show how the reflecting believer is compelled by God's Revelation to arrive at certain conclusions.

The results of much of his work are good, but occasionally his speculations grow rather weird and suggest a Hegelian dialectic rather than the spirit of the Erlangen School to which he professes to belong. That particularly shows itself in the idea that the Logos incarnate arrives at self-realization and self-consciousness through his conflict with the powers of darkness, though possessing his full divinity from the beginning. It is an attempt to introduce the idea of "development" without falling into the mistakes of the Kenotic theologians. But it is not very convincing.

In the formula "simul justus et peccator" Hermann[2] sees the very heart of Lutheran theology and so it is his purpose to investigate all the implications and ramifications of that statement. It is a study that is rigidly systematic and intentionally limited to a certain period of Luther's life. Most of its

1 *Die Grunddogmen des Christentums. Die Versöhnung und der Versöhner.* By Robert Jelke. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1929. VII + 148 pages.

2 *Luthers These, Gerecht und Sünder zugleich.* By Rudolf Hermann. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1930. 301 pages. Geh. 12 M.; Geb. 14 M.

material is drawn from Luther's exegesis of the 4th, 6th and 7th chapters of Romans (1515-1516), and his polemic against Latomus (1521). The first half of this study has previously appeared in the *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* (VI-VII).

After recounting the various analogies used to illustrate the paradox of being righteous and sinner at the same time, Hermann follows out the ideas involved in that formula to the minutest details, so that it develops into a complex study of various problems of systematic theology. The nature of sin, of righteousness, of God's grace and of the ethical questions involved are all discussed at great length. The *consensus* idea as it is found in Augustine and is modified by Luther requires three chapters for its discussion. Then its relation to the human personality is investigated, while the last two chapters are devoted to the consideration of progress in the new life and prayer. The mere statement of the contents is sufficient to show something of the complexity of the book, and its perusal is not rendered any easier by the fact that it is written in a rather unattractive and abrupt German style. Nevertheless it is a mine of solid learning and in its discussions of the various problems involved in justification is of real value to the student of systematic theology. Many a statement of Luther's that is usually passed over, as it is given here, with Hermann's comments, will set the mind to viewing the question from a new angle. For example, in speaking of original sin that comes as a result of the solidarity of the human race he says, "In conception sin is transmitted, for through our conception we become a part of the unity of Adam's race, and share his loss of righteousness. There follows at once that our being-conceived-in-sin is not the sin of our parents, but our own. *Peccator est qui parturitur.* This includes the idea that my sin is a common sin and that the common sin is mine."

Justification and sanctification in their relationship to each other have always been the topic of endless theological debate, but here[3] the subject is presented with such warmth and brilliancy and in such an exceedingly readable way that it is no wonder that Köberle's book had to be printed in a second edition shortly after the first appeared. Dealing with the central question of the faith not as abstractions but as living realities, Köberle continually manifests a real Lutheran consciousness that often revolts against Melanchthonian scholasticism and cries for a return to Luther. While thoroughly confessional in spirit it is also very modern in its whole tone. His great theme is the fact that God alone effects our salvation in its beginning, continuation and ending. After stating the problem of the relation between justification and sanctification he discusses in successive chapters: Man's

3 *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung.* By Adolf Köberle. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1929. XII + 301 pages.

attempts to acquire righteousness; God's judgment on such attempts; true justification through the word of forgiveness; the sanctification of sinners as a work of God; sanctification as the answer of the justified sinner; the significance of sanctification for the loss or preservation of faith; finally, the relation of justification and sanctification. And all this is written with the fervor of a real personal conviction and not as a succession of bloodless categories.

In addition it is based on a sound scholarship that can appreciate the worth of great religious classics because it knows them at first hand. In contrast to some of the shallow superficial estimates recently written about Anselm, we note a statement like the following: "In Anselm's 'cur deus homo', though unfortunately distorted by the persistence of the idea that good works have some sin-atoning value, the Pauline term of conscience and fear of sin in all its reality broke through (the prevailing mediaeval theories) in a statement that might better be regarded with reverence than to be analyzed or discounted as a systematic development of 'Germanic legal views and customs'."

Many a keen observation of a practical character appears on these pages. For example, some of his statements about prayer. "The inner discipline," he says, "must find a corresponding external attitude. Only one who approves the Platonic dualism of body and soul will explain the external postures like standing, kneeling, folding the hands, closing the eyes as the purposeless externals of liturgiologists. Whoever has once recognized the impossibility of such an 'animistic' separation will instinctively observe the physical proprieties. Either the *whole* man in his physical-spiritual unity comes before God, or he fails to do so at all." "Where there is real intercessory prayer there will be a desire for common prayer. He who avoids common prayer only proclaims the fact that his piety is still suffering from hedonism."

Perhaps it is this combination of practical interest with real scholarship that makes the book so fascinating and has gained for it such immediate popularity. Everyone will see the force of statements like the following: "Scientific learning that does not serve the Church is, as a result, even theologically, a momentous false conclusion. *Theologia est disciplina eminens practica.*" "A preaching Church that lacks the love of the Samaritan in spite of all her proclamation of the Word, remains dead; she has become like the salt that has lost its savor and 'is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men'." Just one more example will suffice. Speaking of the value of confession he says, "The form of such confession, to which we are already admonished in the Epistle of James, cannot consist in a 'shameless pouring out of the faith of our soul to public view', at an anxious bench or in an after meeting. The ethical right of a feeling of shame requires, as its only proper form, private confession, which the Church has so wrongfully neglected that it is almost lost. It is a well known fact

that Luther used it all his life and he wrote much about its spiritual blessing and value. All his life long Loehe regarded it as one of the deepest defects of his beloved Church that she allows us to grow up without its ever occurring to us to reproach ourselves for our silence concerning our sins."

The reader who picks up the collection of nine essays by as many different authors, edited by Paul Blau,[4] with the feeling that here is only another one of the innumerable "practical" manuals is due for a pleasant surprise. These essays deal in a practical way with the present day conditions that are involved in the care of souls, both by pastors and lay workers, from the days of the little child, up through girlhood and boyhood, during adolescence and on to young manhood and womanhood, even including the university students. While written primarily for German conditions, it is not only exceedingly modern but also a surprising revelation of the similarity of most problems today in Germany and in the United States. As a result these studies can be very profitable to American pastors and lay workers, even if all the methods they employ would not be practicable in this country. We realize this similarity of conditions as we read a protest (coming from Germany) against the secularizing of Christmas, that says, "It can only be regarded as a crime against the soul of the child when it is robbed of Christmas or the Festival is emptied of its Christian content." Another statement, concerning the teaching of little children, might profitably be considered by many American manufacturers of Sunday school lessons. It is to this effect: "The stories of the Old Testament taken from family and child life, and in the New Testament the stories of the childhood of Jesus, even some of His simplest parables can be used without difficulty. Only one thing must be emphasized. These stories should not serve for amusement, nor to advance the childish imagination, but to produce definite religious feelings and activities of the will." What is said of the "revival hymns", the practical examples given of the frightful way in which the atmosphere of the modern world is saturated with eroticism, and the sober sensible advice concerning the sexual questions of today are only a few examples of the many practical problems that are just the same on both sides of the Atlantic.

Some of the accounts of discussions and of the results of questionnaires are astonishing and some are a solemn warning to the smart young theologians who deprecate the fearfulness of sin, or who chase after moonbeams and cucumbers in the wildred fields of "comparative religions", as they disclose the wrack and ruin that comes to the souls of the young who have been exposed to some of these theological miasms.

JOHN C. MATTES

4 *Seelsorge an den Jugendlichen. Praktische Seelsorge, II, 1 Halbband.* Edited by Paul Blau. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1930. 232 pages. Geh. 6.50 M.; Geb. 8 M.

Professor Tuttle[1] has attempted to "sketch in brief and simple outline the ways in which the state may, without violating the American principle of separation of church and state, co-operate in the cultivation of the religious life of the child, and ways in which the church may stimulate and utilize such assistance." In fulfilling this purpose, he has described trends out of which the present relationship between church and state in religious education has developed. He has interpreted the significance of the co-operative movement and pointed out its dangers and potential values.

Based upon a study of representative experiments and investigations in cities and states all over the country, the book presents an excellent picture of what public schools are doing in the matter of character education at the present time. One must conclude from the data assembled that the educational world is alive to the need for definite religious and character instruction. Only partially can public schools meet this need, for, in most states, their activity must be limited to moral training. It is the duty of the church to provide facilities for the education which is distinctively religious. This latter involves more than the traditional teaching of Bible stories; it must be concerned with building up a sense of values, out of which there may grow motivation for moral conduct. The combined efforts of the two agencies—the public school and the church—ought to result in a religious interpretation of all of life's experiences.

The point of view here set forth is not new. The practical suggestions differ little from suggestions that have appeared in other writings. And yet Professor Tuttle's book is far from commonplace. It has particular merit in that the author's point of view and suggestions are rooted in an analysis of the situation as it actually exists. Public school leaders as well as church school leaders will find this work very profitable in determining their respective spheres of responsibility in character education.

O. F. Nolde

THE MYSTICISM OF PAUL

Since the appearance of his *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung,* which first appeared in 1906 under the title *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* and has been revised in 1916 and 1929 and appears in English under the title *The Quest of the Historical Jesus,* Albert Schweitzer has been justly accorded a place of distinction in the field of New Testament scholarship. Whether one agrees with it or not, that volume is one of the indispensable tools of every real New Testament scholar, for it contains in brief compass the thrilling story of the critical attempt to write the life of Jesus. Schweitzer's scholarly reputation was made by that work, although he has published several other studies deal-

1 *Character Education by State and Church.* By Harold S. Tuttle. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1930. 164 pages. $1.50.

ing with Jesus and Paul. Not satisfied with his scholarly distinction alone, Schweitzer studied medicine and in 1913 went to Africa as a medical missionary, where he has remained up to the present time, except when he returns to Europe on furlough to write books and give organ recitals for the support of his mission! Probably no modern scholar is gifted with such versatility, has accomplished more, or demonstrated a more religious life.

The present volume[1] was begun as far back as 1906, but because of other publications, sickness, and his duties on the mission field, its completion had to be postponed these twenty-three years, so that the manuscript was finished during his most recent furlough and the foreword was written aboard ship on the voyage back to Lambarene on St. Stephen's Day, 1929. The same quality that has characterized Schweitzer's remarkable life pervades his books, so that all that he has written is touched with romance. His books are not only scholarly, they are also interesting to read.

Schweitzer has long been known as the leading representative of the eschatological school of writers, who see the life and teaching of Jesus and the rise of the church against the background of the belief that the Messianic Kingdom was just ready to appear in apocalyptic glory from heaven, accompanied by inconceivable miraculous manifestations of divine power. All of Schweitzer's writings about Jesus are dominated by this idea. And scholars generally have admitted that the emphasis on eschatology was a needed contribution, that Jesus and his disciples were expecting the end of the present order and the setting up of the new, but it is generally felt that Schweitzer exaggerated the importance of this fact.

In this present study of Paul's mysticism, Schweitzer has written throughout under the domination of the same theses. His book is a reply to that school of writers, such as Reitzenstein, Bousset, Deissmann, in Germany, Case and Willoughby in America, and Macchioro in Italy, which believes that Paul's mysticism was of Hellenistic origin. This school of writers has pointed out that Judaism and Jesus himself were non-mystical, while Paul is fundamentally a mystic. At the same time, the Hellenistic religions of Paul's world exhibit a type of religion that is primarily mystical. They conclude, therefore, that Paul shows Hellenistic influence.

Schweitzer readily admits that Paul is a mystic, but he points out the following elements in his teaching that distinguish it from the Hellenistic mysticism: (1) Paul speaks of being *in Christ,* but never of being *in God,* which he says is the Hellenistic mode of expression; (2) Paul speaks of death and resurrection with Christ, but never actually uses the word *rebirth,* which is the Hellenistic term; (3) he writes of fellowship with Christ, but never of actually becoming *divine,* the usual idea of the mysteries; (4) his thought is

1 *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus.* By Albert Schweitzer. Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1930. 407 pages; unbound 16, bound 19 M.

all oriented with reference to the coming apocalyptic kingdom, but such is unknown in Hellenistic thought; (5) Paul combines mysticism with predestination, another idea unknown to the Greek world. On the basis of these observations, Schweitzer holds that Paul has not been influenced by his Hellenistic environment. He holds, instead, that Paul's mysticism is the normal development of his belief in Jesus and the coming Kingdom of God, transformed, as it had to be, in the light of Jesus' death and resurrection. In this light he illuminates Paul's teaching about dying and rising with Christ, suffering, spirit possession, law, righteousness, sacraments, and ethics, holding that Hellenistic influence came in after Paul's time, i. e., with John and Ignatius.

In the reviewer's judgment, Schweitzer has done a worthy service in pointing out the vitality of eschatology in Paul's thought, just as he did earlier in the thought of Jesus, but we doubt that he has established his thesis. In the first place, his dilemma "either Hellenistic or eschatological" is false, for these two categories are not necessarily exclusive. There is no good reason why one might not be both Hellenistic and eschatological, as Paul seems to have been; or mystical without being eschatological, as John; or eschatological but not mystical, as Jesus.

In the second place, the issue raised is not one of a certain phraseology but of a type of religious experience. It is clear that Paul was mystical as contrasted with Jesus and Judaism. He held legal and eschatological elements in harmony with Jesus and Judaism, but his mysticism is related to the Hellenistic experience instead. He did not borrow this from the Hellenistic world, but made use of this thought form of his world just as naturally as he did the Greek language which he spoke. He spoke Aramaic and Greek; and his thought also followed the forms of these two cultures. But why should we hesitate to believe that Paul made use of the rich language and thought of the Greeks to express the benefit which had come to him from the suffering of Jesus? Why should Paul's religion be regarded as in any way inferior on that account?

Selby Vernon McCasland

BOOKS RECEIVED

Story and Significance of the Augsburg Confession. By Dr. J. L. Neve. Burlington, Ia.: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1930. XV + 152 pages. $1.35.

The four hundredth anniversary of the presentation of the Augsburg Confession has called forth a number of booklets on that historic document in various languages. This one in English is one of the most informing of such books. It is meant to be for the ordinary reader and not for the specialist. There is first the historical background of the Confession, with a description of its presentation at the Diet of Augsburg, June 25, 1530. It is then distinguished from a later altered form of the Confession. A brief discussion of the character and contents of the Confession concludes the book. It is a timely presentation and ought to help the general reader to gain an intelligent understanding of this foundational Evangelical Confession.

JOHN ABERLY

Lutheran Makers of America. By Ira Oliver Nothstein, D.D. Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1930. 232 pages. $1.50.

The reader of these sixty-eight "thumbnail" biographies is soon freed from the notion that Lutheran adherents in colonial America were rigidly bound by European authority, language, and culture. Among this select group of pioneers are large landholders, merchants, clergymen, schoolmasters, legislators, soldiers, housewives, philanthropists, scientists, artists, a manufacturer, a publisher, and a baker-general of Washington's army. The tone is frankly laudatory. Dr. Nothstein has gathered the data to show that Lutherans were first in such diverse fields as translating religious books into an Indian tongue, founding orphanages, organ building, painting, and political economy.

The author has consulted the principal secondary sources and has appended a useful bibliography for each sketch. The genealogical records have been carefully compiled and the variants in spelling noted. Where authorities disagree the conflicting viewpoints are stated and the reader left to draw his own conclusions. Three of the characters are Danes, one is Dutch, eighteen are from Sweden or her dependencies, and the rest are of German origin. Two women, Sara Austin, the maker of the first American flag, and Regina Hartman, who was made captive by Indians, are subjects of sketches. Not all of these pioneers were zealous members, as Lutheran descent was sufficient to qualify them for consideration. Two joined the Episcopalian church in later life.

As the biographies are of uniform length, three to four pages, there is danger of a lack of perspective, for the same space is devoted to John Christian Shell, an obscure Indian fighter, as to Dr. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg. These sketches cannot take the place of a connected narrative, but they do give an appreciation of the share that Lutherans had in the building of American institutions and should lead to a quickening of denominational pride. This book by the Librarian of Augustana College is the first of a series sponsored by the Lutheran Brotherhood of the Augustana Synod. The future volumes, dealing with Lutheran leaders of later periods, will be awaited with great interest.

ROY H. JOHNSON

Luthers Aussehen und Bildniss. By Karl Bauer. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1930. 65 pages; 24 full page cuts. 3 M.

Luthertum um 1530. By Hans Preuss. Berlin: Furche-Kunstverlag, 1930. 80 pages. 40 cents.

These are two delightful little collections of pictures. That of Bauer deals only with Luther. Half of the illustrations are reproductions of contemporary portraits and the text discusses the traits of Luther's physiognomy, there portrayed, as compared with those of other great men. The other half consists of a collection of interesting portrait studies by Prof. Bauer in which he visualized his conception of Luther's appearance in various moods and at different stages of his career.

The other collection is grouped about the Augsburg Confession and presents pictures of persons, places and books connected with the presentation of that great document. Here the actors and scenes of the momentous days of four hundred years ago rise visibly before our eyes, while the explanatory text, written in popular style, is a brief but very informing comment on the pictures.

JOHN C. MATTES

The Biological Basis of Human Nature. By H. S. Jennings. New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1930. xviii + 384 pages. Chapter bibliographies and index. $4.00.

To the student who is interested in the apparently unending question of heredity versus environment this book will prove to be valuable. Prof. Jennings, of Johns Hopkins University, is one of the foremost zoölogists of the day.

His studies are based largely upon the fruit-fly. He gives fine illustrations of the genes of the germ cells as they run in pairs and the chromosomes in their groupings. He shows the normal genes and the defective genes in their respective pairings for better or worse or change, and catalogues the results of the pairings. He maintains that each set of genes produce each particular detail of the many characteristics and arrives at this conclusion: "Structural characteristics, large and small, physiological and chemical characteristics of all types; sensory characteristics, temperamental characteristics, reactions to stimuli, behavior—all classes are found to depend experimentally on genes. It can be safely said that there is no type of characteristics in which individuals may differ that has not been found to depend on genes."

This he carries over to the biology of the human species: "For many of the characteristics of man, as we have seen, there is no doubt of the applicability of modern genetic science; they are inherited in the same way as are characteristics of other organisms; they are altered by change of genes."

Over against this he maintains that "environmental agents affect only the product of the genes, not the genes themselves. It is only the single individual treated that is helped by environmental or therapeutic measures. Although he himself becomes normal his genes remain defective to the same extent as before. These defective genes multiply in his body and are transmitted to his descendants."

He disagrees flatly with many of Watson's tenets in Behaviorism though he gives a fair analysis. His observations on mental and moral defectives and the ratio possibilities of weeding them out are interesting and instructive. On the basis of his calculations as given above, he has little hope of rejuvenating the race mentally, temperamentally, or morally in short order or en masse.

CARROLL J. ROCKEY

Immortability (An Old Man's Conclusions). By S. D. McConnell. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. 178 pages. $1.50.

This book is unique in three particulars. First, it is written by a man eighty-five years of age. He calls it "An Old Man's Conclusions." Second, it is a searching examination from a physiological and psychological point of view of the traditional and scientific difficulties of a belief in immortality. Third, he offers a constructive anthropological and Christian basis for a belief in immortality. The word he has coined—"Immortability" is the clue to the maze. In a word men are not immortal by reason of the fact that they are men, but they are made immortal by the process of moral assent and a life lived in God.

Man never has, and never can, live as a "disembodied spirit." All his thinking and acting is done in relation with physical life. Body helps mind as truly as mind helps body. This nexus is essential to his life. So long as matter was looked upon as an inert substance and the body only a perishing house of the soul, it was impossible to escape the conclusion that when the body dies the mind or soul dies with it. Today modern physics has so ethicalized the fact of matter that it has become an invisible entity as mysterious as spirit itself. This spiritualization of matter is the physiological basis for a "spiritual body" spoken of by St. Paul.

The real problem, however, is not the physiological possibility of a spiritual body, but the moral necessity of a spiritual life and ascent Godward. Dr. McConnell writes: "Measured by psychic standards the interval between the lowest man and the highest man is a hundred fold greater than between the lowest man and the highest brute." If it shall appear, therefore, that the individual who has reached to the stage of self-conscious moral personality has as a consequence come into new relations both to the universe which he inhabits, and to the Supreme Personality of the universe, we need not be surprised." It accords with the terminology of Scripture and Science both do say that "he has become a new creator," that he "has passed from death unto life," that he has "been born again," that "he is no longer subject to the law of sin and death."

Dr. McConnel is not repeating the belief in "Conditional Immortality." He criticises that belief from two points of view. The word and promise of Christ is sufficient for the average Christian, but Dr. McConnel, though he finds the "life hid with Christ in God" is the essential condition of growth in the spiritual life, seeks to find the rationale for such a growth in a moral progressive advance which makes possible a response to the life of God as revealed in the Eternal Son of God. He is pleased to say, "The Gospels are biological altogether." They are too often interpreted in the terms of jurisprudence. Jesus said, "I have come that ye might have *Life* and that ye might have it abundantly."

It is as reasonable a presentation of a belief in immortality as I have ever read. I know that proof is unattainable, but this book offers as effective an argument for a life after death as we can hope for.

EDWIN HEYL DELK

Paul. By William Dallmann. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1929. 356 pages. $4.50.

New Testament scholarship will never exhaust the profound depths of the personality of the Apostle Paul. Of perennial interest is the study of his life and work. Year after year new books dealing with various aspects of his life appear from the press.

The volume under review is the work of an enthusiastic student of biography. Included in the list of Dr. Dallmann's publications are biographies of the following: Jesus,

Christ, John Wiclif, John Huss, Martin Luther, Robert Barnes, William Tindale, Miles Coverdale and Paul Gerhardt. The fact that each of these volumes has passed through more than one edition indicates that the author has a special gift in interpreting personality. To his study of Paul he has brought the results of New Testament scholarship and many years of extensive research.

In ten chapters the biographer tells the fascinating story of the Apostle in his historical, geographical and religious setting. He intersperses the account of Paul's childhood, youth, conversion, missionary journeys, imprisonment, writings, death and influence with pithy pictures of the cities through which he passed, the leading characters of his day, and the social and religious conditions of the Graeco-Roman world at that time.

The reader's interest is sustained not only by the engaging style of the book, but also by the copious illustrations, 188 in all, many of which have been secured with great difficulty.

Pastors, teachers and Christian readers in general will find in this volume a wealth of information and inspiration.

E. E. Flack

The Holy Ghost. By William Dallmann. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1930. 59 pages. $0.50.

A monograph "to celebrate the nineteenth centenary of the first Christian Pentecost." The author has presented a somewhat detailed description of the nature and work of the Holy Ghost. His book will be of interest to those who are concerned with the accumulation and literal interpretation of isolated Scripture passages for the support of traditional beliefs.

O. F. Nolde

Nature: Cosmic, Human, and Divine. By James Young Simpson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. ix + 157 pages. $2.00.

Our contemporary age is witnessing the rise of a new line of prophets in matters of cosmic interpretations. We seem to have passed beyond the purely theological stage of the theologians through that of the professionally philosophical of the philosophers, in truly Comtian fashion, to the new era of the scientific-philosophical of the scientists. We are getting our philosophies and theologies from rather unexpected quarters. Professor Simpson belongs to this new class of prophets; his book is typical of this newer leadership.

No theology, it is asserted, can gain a respectful hearing in this critical age, without its being grounded in a scientifically defensible cosmology. We must construct our cosmology first and then deduce our theology. After a detailed and most interesting examination of some of the latest findings of the natural sciences, the Terry lecturer rises to give his testimony on matters philosophical and theological. When all is said and done, he says, we find ourselves in a habitat which exhibits, on the whole, Order, Progress, Creative Spontaneity, Intelligibility. No better synthesis of these suggestions and trends found in Nature, both cosmic and human, has been offered than that set forth in the Christian theistic outlook. That traditional point of view may be wrong in some of its details, but it is not far from right in its general perspective.

Vergilius Ferm

Little Pilgrim to Penn's Woods. By Edna Albert; illustrated by Esther Brann. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930. 300 pages. $2.00.

In simple, winsome language Miss Albert has told the story of her forefathers. With a sympathetic understanding of the ideals that tore her people from a beloved German principality she describes the leave-taking, journey and settlement in Pennsylvania.

The story centers around Selinda, a vivacious little maid who has unlimited capacity for fitting into new and difficult situations, trading old words for new, and sensing the customs and virtues of newly found friends. These become her willing slaves through the charm of her own wholesome, helpful life.

From the time we meet the little girl, perched on the end of her father's bench in Rothenrieth, until as a young woman her magic carpet is hung in Waldheim, the new stone house, not far from York, Pa., there is not a dry paragraph. Incident follows incident in such natural sequence that the reader finds himself picturing scenes and becoming part of the little group in each new setting.

The journey down the Main and the Rhine is of especial interest. In apt word pictures the author describes the mode of travel, ancient towns, bridges and customs with rare skill. Through the whole story is woven folks tales of the Rhineland, making a rich lore so satisfying to the eager young mind. One can almost see the little Selinda drinking in the tales that would go so far in moulding her future. In this is revealed a rich acquaintance with the old legends and history of the Fatherland.

The story is more than fiction. Miss Albert has in her possession the ship's passenger list and other very valuable data. As a descendant of these sturdy settlers of the middle eighteenth century she writes from a wealth of those honored traditions so prized by those whose ancestors made them.

M. Hadwin Fischer